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NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE MONOGRAPH
SERIES, NO. 15

DREAMS AND MYTHS

A Study in Race Psychology

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Washington

NEW YORK
THE JOURNAL OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE
PUBLISHING COMPANY
1913

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NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE MONOGRAPH SERIES

Edited by
Drs. SMITH ELY JELLIFFE and WM. A. WHITE

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THE JOURNAL OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE
PUBLISHING COMPANY, NEW YORK

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

Three years have elapsed since the appearance of the German edition. In the meantime the interest in psychoanalytic researches has everywhere grown, more especially in the United States of North America. So the need for an English translation of this work has arisen.

The author can only say that the views that he has presented in this work have experienced complete confirmation through the more recent investigations.

DR. KARL ABRAHAM.

BERLIN, September, 1912.

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DREAMS AND MYTHS.*

I

Object and Viewpoint of Psychoanalytic Investigations According to Freud

The psychological theories that are associated with the name of S. Freud reach out into regions of the psychic life of man, which, from outer appearances, have no relation to one another. Freud in common with J. Breuer in their "Studien über Hysterie" (1895) started out from pathological psychic manifestations. The progressive elaboration of the psychoanalytic method required a searching study of dreams.[1] It appeared also that for a full understanding of these phenomena the comparative consideration of certain other phenomena must be taken up. Freud saw this and drew wider and wider areas of the normal and diseased psychic life into the field of his investigations. So there appeared in the *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre* (1906) an assortment of studies of hysteria, compulsive ideas, and other psychic disturbances, later the monographs "Über den Witz" (1905), the "Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie"[2] (1905), and lately the psychological analysis of a poet's works,[2a] which constitutes the first volume of this series. Freud came to consider these apparently heterogeneous products of man's psyche from a common viewpoint. They all have in common the relation to the unconscious, to the psychic life of childhood, and to the sexuality; they have in common the tendency to represent a wish of the indi-

* Traum und Mythus. Eine Studie zur Völkerpsychologie. Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde. Leipzig und Wien. Franz Deuticke 1909.

[1] "Die Traumdeutung." Wien und Leipzig, 1900 (2 Aufl. 1909).

[2] An English translation of this work by Dr. A. A. Brill is No. 7 of this Series.

[2a] "Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens' 'Gradiva.'" Wien und Leipzig, 1907.

vidual as fulfilled; in common are the means of this representation, which serve this end.

He who is not acquainted with Freud's writings and those of his followers, will be astonished that one should earnestly seek to place all these expressions near one another under the same viewpoint. He will ask what sort of relations wit has to the unconscious. He will doubt that a disease can contain a wish-fulfillment for the patient who suffers from it and he will not quite comprehend how one can place poetry parallel in this respect. He will not understand what general relations are supposed to prevail between the dreams of adults and the psyche of the child. He will, and this perhaps most, be opposed to the idea that one can ascribe to all these psychological phenomena relations to sexuality. And so the teachings laid down by Freud appear to be full of contradictions and absurdities; they appear as isolated statements without critique to generalize. Consequently one will be inclined to reject, *a limine,* the methods of investigation, with the help of which, results like these are obtained.[3]

If I were to attempt here an answer to the different objections I could not avoid a detailed presentation of all of Freud's teachings and would be obliged to considerably overstep the limits of this work. Opportunity will offer, in the course of our inquiry, to touch upon the most important problems to which Freud has devoted his work. In the meantime suffice a reference: All of the psychic phenomena which we above place side by side are the products of phantasy. We will not assume, without further demonstration, that as such they present certain analogies among themselves.

There are, besides the products of individual phantasy, also those that cannot be ascribed to such phantasy. I am satisfied

[3] This is about the standpoint taken by the medical profession to Freud's teachings. It must be confessed that Freud's teachings must at first appear strange to the unprejudiced. It should be emphasized that a wide cleft separates them from traditional psychology. That should be no ground, however, for dismissing them with a shrug of the shoulders or a few witty catch words, as happens on the side of the critics.

at this place to mention myths and legends as structures of such a kind. We do not know who created them, who first related them. In the sagas and legends folk phantasy finds expression. Freud has already made them, to a certain degree, the objects of his inquiries, and in numerous respects disclosed psychological analogies between them and the results of individual phantasy. Recently another author has followed in his tracks. Riklin[4] has examined into the psychological analogies of the legends of different peoples. The proposed work is an attempt to compare myths with the phenomena of individual psychology, especially with dreams. It will bring out the proof that Freud's teachings, in a wide sense, can be transferred to the psychology of myths, and are even qualified to furnish wholly new grounds for the understanding of the sagas.[5]

[4] The announced work of Riklin: "Wunscherfüllung und Symbolik im Märchen" (Vol. 2 of this series) appeared after my work was finished. I could, therefore, only make use of a short preliminary communication of the author. (*Psychiatr.-neurol. Wochenschrift,* 1907, Nr. 22–24.)

[5] Likewise after the conclusion of this projected work an article of Freud appeared ("Der Dichter und das Phantasieren," *Neue Revue,* 2. Märzheft, 1908), which expressed in brief, the fundamental idea of my work. ("Es ist von den Mythen durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass sie den entstellten Überresten von Wunschphantasien ganzer Nationen, den Säkularträumen der jungen Menscheit entsprechen.")

II

Childhood Phantasies in Dreams and Myths. Application of the Wish Theory to Myths

I will anticipate at once some of the principal evident objections to this undertaking as planned. It will be objected that myths spring from phantasies which operate during the waking state, while dreams owe their origin to sleep and to a condition of lowered consciousness. Careful consideration shows, however, that this in no way constitutes an important difference. We dream not only during sleep; there are also waking dreams. In these we transfer ourselves into an artificial situation and form the world and our future according to our wishes. That the same tendency dwells in night dreams will very soon be accepted by us. Many people tend, in a surprising degree, to day dreaming; one sees them thus absorbed. Imperceptible gradations lead over here to a pathological activity of phantasy. Children give themselves to such dream-like phantasies very readily. The little boy, in his day dream, is king of a great realm and conquers in bloody battles; or he distinguishes himself as an Indian chief or in some other manner. Pathological grades of absorption in day dreams are not rare among children. We already see from this that there is no sharp dividing line between waking phantasies and dreams. We know further, however, from Freud's researches, that the dream thoughts do not arise during the dream but are representations from previous waking periods. In the dream they only maintain a form, which differs from that in which we commonly care to express our thoughts.

Another objection, which likewise only has an apparent validity, concerns itself with the fashioning of the point of departure for our further consideration. It will be shown that the dream

is an individual product, while in myths there is stored, in a way, the collective spirit of a people. One finds the comparison invalid. This error is easy to refute. If dreams originate from the emotions of individuals so there are emotions which are common to mankind. These express themselves in what Freud calls "typical" dreams. Freud has succeeded in tracing back this group of dreams to certain wishes common to all men, at the same time to point out that these same wishes lie at the bottom of certain myths. Freud's deductions regarding typical dreams may thus serve as a basis for our researches. Still it commends itself to us for our purposes, to take up the analysis of the typical dreams as a starting point. They give us opportunity to investigate the wish theory of dreams. Besides they offer, as will be shown, in certain respects, simpler situations than most other dreams.[6]

According to the theory of Freud there lies, at the bottom of every dream, a repressed wish in the unconscious. Every one experiences occurrences which he afterwards can never recall without a lively feeling of pain. He seeks to force such reminiscences out of his consciousness. He is not able fully to extinguish them from memory; he can only repress them into the unconscious. The repressed memories and the wishes associated with them are only apparently forgotten; that is to say they are withdrawn from spontaneous recall. So soon, however, as the function of consciousness is in any way impaired, when phantasy takes the place of logically ordered thought, as is the case in day dreaming, the dream, and under the most varied pathological situations, then the repressed psychic material becomes again free. In dreams, and in the symptoms of certain psychic disturbances, the repressed wishes come again to expression. Their formerly

[6] A further, apparently very substantial objection against the conceived relationship of dreams and myths arises from the gradual rise of myths through many generations, while the dream appears to be a transitory, short-lived structure. This objection will find its refutation in the course of our investigations.

hoped for, but delayed fulfilling is represented now in phantasy. That an important part of the repressed wishes spring from the period of childhood is one of the facts established by Freud and to which we must later come back. For the present it is sufficient to keep in mind that according to Freud's view the dream represents the fulfillment of a repressed wish and that the deepest roots of this wish lie in the childhood of the dreamer.

Freud especially emphasizes that the typical dream is descended from infantile reminiscences. Especially instructive, in this respect, are those dreams which deal with the death of near relatives. These dreams at first glance appear absolutely to contradict his view that every dream contains a wish fulfillment. Probably every one who has at some time dreamt of the death of a near relative whom he loved, will energetically assume the defensive if one assumes that he wished the death of his relative and that this secret wish came to expression in the dream. He will also emphasize that the dream was accompanied by the most painful feelings of anxiety and fright and so perhaps brought to expression an apprehension but certainly not a wish.

The theory in no way refers only to actual wishes but lays stress with great emphasis upon the significance of early infantile emotions. If one dreams of the death of a dear relative it is not at all necessary, according to Freud's teachings, to draw the conclusion that the dreamer now has such a wish; he needs only to have had it at some, perhaps remote time. To be sure one will not easily acknowledge this either.

The child, up to a certain age that shows considerable variations, is free from altruistic feelings. He lives in a naïve egoism. It is throughout erroneous to assume that the feeling of the child for its parents and brothers and sisters is from the beginning a feeling of affection. On the contrary there exists instead among the children a certain rivalry. When a second child is born the first, who had been an only child up to that time, clearly shows

jealousy on account of the attention paid to it because of its helplessness. It is quite usual that a child will not give the bottle of milk to the younger, that its jealousy is stirred up when it sees the newcomer sitting on its mother's lap, which was formerly only its own place. It envies it its playthings, it emphasizes its own superiority when it speaks of the younger one to adults. The younger child reacts, as soon as it is in a position to, in just such an egoistic manner. It sees in the elder an oppressor and seeks to help itself as well as its weakness makes possible. Under normal conditions these contrasts gradually disappear to a great extent. They are never wholly rooted out in spite of all educational measures.

This hostile attitude of one child toward the other finds its expression in the wish that the other were dead. Naturally it will be disputed that a child can be so "bad" as to wish the other dead. "Who says that does not consider that the idea of the child of 'death' has little in common with ours except the word" (Freud). The child has no clear idea of the death of a person. It hears perhaps that this or that relative has died, is dead. For the child that only means: that person is no longer there. Daily experience teaches us how easily the child gets over the absence of a loved person. It perhaps stretches the hand forth in the direction in which the mother has gone, it cries a little while—then consoles itself with games or food and no longer recalls spontaneously the going away. Older children of normal psychic constitution also get over a separation easily. In early years the child identifies death with absence. It cannot represent to itself that anyone, of whose death it has been told, will never again return. We understand now how a child in all harmlessness wishes the death of the other (or any other person). It is its rivalry: were it not so, then the occasion for rivalry and jealousy would be removed.

Between brothers and sisters this relationship of rivalry is

milder than between children of the same sex, moderated by the sexual attraction. We will have to consider this point later.

New opposition arises when we consider the relation of the child to the parents from the above viewpoint. How can one assume that the child wishes the death of the father or the mother? One will at most grant this in such cases as the abuse of the child by the parents, but will add that these are fortunately exceptional cases to whom the generalization is not applicable.

The dream of the death of the father or mother, as it occurs to everyone, contains the sought-for explanation. Freud shows from it that "the dream of the death of parents is preponderatingly common concerning that one of the pair of the same sex as the dreamer, so the son, for the most part dreams of the death of the father, the daughter of the death of the mother." This behavior is explained in part as due to an early sexual preference of the son for the mother, the daughter for the father. Out of this preference grows a certain rivalry of the son with the father for the love of the mother, and a similar situation between daughter and mother for the love of the father. The son rebels earlier or later against the patria potestas, in some cases openly, in others inwardly. At the same time the father protects his dominance against the growing son. A similar relation occurs between mother and daughter. As much as culture may soften or change this rivalry, through piety towards the parents, through love of the children, still its traces cannot be extinguished. In the most favorable cases these tendencies become repressed in the unconscious. Straightway they express themselves in dreams. Children, who are disposed to nervous or psychic disease, show, already in the early years, a very strong love or a very strong repulsion towards the parents or towards one of them. In their dreams they show these tendencies especially clearly, not less clearly, however, in the symptoms of their later disease. Freud gives very instructive examples of this kind.[7] He cites, among

[7] "Traumdeutung," Seite 179 f.

others, the case of a mentally ill girl who for the first time, in a period of confusion, expressed violent aversion for her mother. As the patient became clearer she dreamt of the death of her mother. Finally she no longer contented herself with repressing in the unconscious her feelings against her mother, but proceeded to over-compensate for that feeling by constructing a phobia, that is a morbid fear, that something might happen to the mother. The aversion became transposed, the more the patient gained composure, into an excessive apprehension about her mother's goings and comings. I have myself lately observed a quite similar case.

As complementary it may be mentioned that the dreams of adults not infrequently turn on the death of a child. Pregnant women, who suffer from their condition, dream of an abortion. Fathers or mothers, who in the waking state tenderly love their child, dream under special conditions that it is dead, for example, when the existence of the child interferes with the attainment of an object.

The typical dream then contains wishes which we in our waking life will not admit. In the dream life these secret wishes find expression. These wishes, common to many or to all mankind, we meet also in the myths. The first point of comparison to occupy us is, then, the common content of certain dreams and myths. We must follow Freud's lead still further. For, as mentioned, he has first analyzed a particular myth—the Œdipus saga —from the viewpoint set forth in his "Traumdeutung." I cite literally the following passage from Freud.[8]

"Œdipus, son of Laius, King of Thebes, and Jocasta, was, as a suckling, exposed, because an oracle had prophesied to the father, that the yet unborn son would be his murderer. He was saved and grew up as a king's son in a strange court, until he, uncertain of his origin, questioned the oracle himself and received from it the advice, to avoid his home, because he would be the murderer of his father and the mate of his mother. On the way

[8] "Traumdeutung," Seite 180 f.

from his supposed home he fell in with King Laius and slew him in a quickly stirred up dispute. Then he arrived before Thebes where he solved the riddle of the sphinx that blocked the way and as reward was chosen king by the Thebans and given Jocasta's hand in marriage. He reigned a long time in peace and honor and begot with his unknown mother two sons and two daughters, until a pestilence broke out, which caused the Thebans again to consult the oracle. Here is the material of the tragedy of Sophocles. The messengers brought the answer that the plague would cease when the murderer of Laius was driven from the land. The action of the story now consists only in the step by step gradual and skillfully delayed unfolding—like the work of a psychoanalysis—of the fact that Œdipus himself was the murderer of Laius and also the son of the murdered King and of Jocasta."

The Œdipus tragedy can affect us today as deeply as at the time of Sophocles, although we do not share the views of gods and fate, and the belief in sayings of the oracle. Freud concludes from this correctly that the fable must contain something that calls out in us all related feelings. "For us all, perhaps, was it decreed, to direct the first sexual feeling to the mother, the first hate and violent wish against the father; our dreams convict us of that." In the Œdipus tragedy we see our childhood wish fulfilled, while we ourselves have recovered from the sexual attraction of the mother and the aversion against the father in the course of our development through feelings of love and piety.

As Freud remarks, the tragedy points to the typical dream in which the dreamer is sexually united with the mother. This point is the purport of the following:

"For many men also saw themselves in dreams, already united with their mother."

The tragedy contains the realization of two intimate childhood dream phantasies: The phantasy of the death of the father and of the love relationship with the mother. The results of their realization are represented to us in all their terribleness.

The same conflict between father and son is represented in the myth of Uranus and the Titans. Uranus seeks to remove his sons, as he fears their encroachment on his power. His son Cronus took revenge by castrating his father. This particular type of revenge points to the sexual side of their rivalry. Then Cronus seeks to secure himself in the same manner against his children: He swallowed them all except the youngest son Zeus. This one took revenge on him, compelled him to disgorge the other children and then banished all the other Titans in Tartarus; according to another version Zeus also castrated his father.

III

Symbolism in Speech, in Dreams and in Other Phantasies

Both the tales of Œdipus and of Uranus and their descendants have not only a related content, but show also in their outer form an important agreement. In both there is lacking, almost altogether, the symbolic clothing. We learn the whole story from naked words. It is worthy of note that this is also true of the typical dream, which we have drawn upon for the explanation of these myths. Here also—as Freud remarks—the symbolic clothing is found in strikingly slight development.

In general, in the interpretation of dreams, we always run across anew the effects of a psychic determinant which Freud has called the "censor." This will occupy our attention later; here we will only briefly characterize its most important features. The censor will not permit our secret wishes to show themselves in our dreams in their true, undisguised form, but forces an obscuring of the true tendency of the dream through the "dream distortion." The evasion of the censor is accomplished by a very extensive "dream work." We will consider its manifestations more in detail later. Only one form of dream distortion—the symbolic clothing of the wish—must we busy ourselves with now. The above discussed dream of the death of the father and sexual relations with the mother is a striking exception, in so far as here the wish, which appears to us in the waking state as abhorrent, is represented quite openly, without symbolic clothing, as fulfilled. Freud explains this by two factors. We do not believe ourselves further from any wish than from this one; the censor is not occupied with such monstrosities. Secondly, the wish may very easily be concealed behind actual apprehension for the life of the beloved person. Now it is of the greatest interest that

the Œdipus saga and the saga of Cronus and Zeus are also very poor in symbolic means of expression. Every man believes himself in his waking consciousness infinitely removed from the horrors of Œdipus or of Cronus in his relations to his children and to his father.

We state provisionally that noteworthy analogies exist between certain myths and certain dreams. It will be necessary to inquire further whether these analogies have a general significance. The analysis of most myths—as of most dreams—is rendered difficult by the symbolic clothing of their true content. Because in the Œdipus saga, as in the typical dreams of like content, this complication does not exist, they serve us especially well as an introduction to these interesting problems.

The majority of myths are presented in a symbolic manner and so in reality they must contain something or mean something that their outer form does not signify. They require, like the dream, to be interpreted. As an example of a symbolic myth the Prometheus saga will serve us. We will subject this to a method of interpretation similar to that of dream analysis. The further issue of the comparison of dreams and myths we shall continue by the use of this example.

I know upon what contradictions I will strike if I aspire to an interpretation of myths after the model of dream interpretation, and if I maintain that here as well as there the same symbolism governs. It is Freud's great service to have fathomed this symbolism. Thanks to this study we have learned to know the important relations between these repeatedly mentioned psychic structures. The value of this knowledge, which was attained by the most painstaking studies, is absolutely and often passionately disputed by the critic. By the opponents of Freud's teachings the interpretation of symbols is rejected as phantastic and arbitrary. Freud and his followers are laboring under the power of autosuggestion which makes them explain everything in accord-

ance with their preconceived ideas. They arouse the dislike of their critics by conceiving the symbolism of dreams and related states as expressions of sexual ideas. None of Freud's teachings, differing as they do so much from those commonly held, are attacked with such violence as the interpretation of symbolism. This is of the greatest significance for our further progress. Therefore, before I enter upon the exposition of the symbolism of any one myth, I will lay the broadest possible foundations for this part of my studies. To this end I will call attention to the fact that the symbolisms investigated by Freud lie deep in every man and have existed at all times in mankind. Therefore it comes to pass that preponderantly the expression of sexual phantasies are brought about by sexual symbolism. My following deductions rest in part upon the valuable writings of Kleinpaul.[9] This author has also seen the necessity of taking a stand against moralizing critics. I will cite a remark of Kleinpaul's[10] to the point: "We must point out the fact that such (*i. e.*, sexual) phantasies do not belong only to patriarchal times, where they were natural, but have continued up to the present time, where they are branded as corrupt." Sexual symbolism, I assert, is a psychological phenomenon of mankind in all places and times. In the beginnings of our culture it was most clearly in evidence, and in a less crass but always clearer form it has asserted itself in the psychic life of mankind up to the present day. Kleinpaul says very aptly, "Man sexualizes everything."

If we first glance at the beginning of the plastic arts, we find representations of the human sexual parts in endless profusion, sometimes hidden, sometimes with a clearness that permits of no doubt. Sometimes their forms are used as decorative ornaments, sometimes vases, pitchers, and other utensils of the most different kinds have the form of the genitals. In the art products

[9] Kleinpaul, "Leben der Sprache," Bd. 1; "Die Rätsel der Sprache," Bd. 2; "Sprache ohne Worte," Bd. 3; "Das Stromgebiet der Sprache."

[10] "Sprache ohne Worte," Leipzig, 1890, Seite 490.

of the most different peoples we find objects, which according to the type, have borrowed their form and also bear the name. Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan and Roman vessels and utensils are convincing signs of this sexual symbolism existing at all times in the folks. If we consider the art work and utensils of peoples poor in culture we make the same observation—otherwise we must intentionally close our eyes. The literature of art is another wide and fruitful territory for work, for observations of this kind are widely scattered in the literature.

A perhaps greater significance is assumed by sexual symbolism in the religious cults of all peoples. Numerous practices show sexual symbolism. The cult, extensive in many peoples, of fruitfullness, gives occasion for the most wanton symbolism which in no wise simply expresses itself in the grossly unequivocal (phallus, etc.).

We do not need at all, however, to seek so far from the daily walks of life. Our speech itself is the best sign for the significance which the sexual has had in the thoughts of mankind at all times. All indogermanic and Semitic languages possess (or did possess in earlier times) gender. That is a fact that is commonly little regarded. However let us ask ourselves: Why have the words in our language masculine and feminine gender? Why does language attribute to lifeless objects one or the other sex? A part of the indogermanic languages have even a third gender; in which are included those words which find no place in the two other categories, either because phantasy seeks in vain a sexual analogy or because on some special ground sexual neutrality is to be emphasized. Indeed the reason why an object has the one and not the other sex is in no way always easy to discover. It is also to be remembered that many substantives not seldom have different genders in two nearly related languages. It would lead much too far if we were to go into this highly interesting problem of philology. We shall only refer here to certain rules, espe-

cially of the German language. In the German language all diminutives belong to the neuter gender. The folk phantasy compares them to undeveloped, not full grown persons. Of small children we say by preference "it" and treat them as neuters; in many places grown girls are spoken of still as "it" so long only as they are not married. Maiden (Mädchen) and Miss (Fräulein) are diminutive and therefore neuter until they marry. Animals have many quite different names according as to whether they are male or female. Other animals, however, are considered under one of the three grammatical sexes whether feminine or masculine. In certain cases the cause is apparent. Of the animals, those are masculine in which one finds the characteristics which belong to the man, as especially bodily strength, courage, etc. Therefore the great beasts and birds of prey are masculine. Cat (Die Katze) we generally use as feminine; her submissive nature, her grace and adroitness remind one of feminine characteristics. These examples are sufficient.

That also lifeless things are sexualized in speech is a still more noteworthy fact. There are objects, which, in the different languages, are regularly or preferably given a certain sex. Here is presented some of the familiar sexual symbolisms of different peoples. The ship, in German, bears by preference the feminine gender. Also the name given to the ship is usually feminine, even though it is otherwise masculine. So in the English language, which only shows the rudiments of a sexual differentiation, the ship is feminine; but the battleship is compared to the fighting man and called "man-of-war." It is significant for this conception that we find on the keel of many ships a female figure as an ornament. "In seamen's eyes the ship not simply has shoulders and a stern, it is comparable to the ark, that conceals the germ of life, to the mystic casket that was borne by the women at the feasts of Demeter and Dionysus. It is like the mate of the Indian god Siva, it moves on the sea with the mast as with a phallus"

(Kleinpaul). I would like to mention here still another idea. The sailor lives, often for a long time, separated from his wife while he is bound to his ship. He lives with his ship as the landsman lives with his wife and family. So the ship becomes figuratively the sailor's wife.

The pupil of the human eye, which appears as a round, black spot is sexualized in the same way in the most different languages. "Pupilla" in Latin signifies a maiden; the Greek κόρη, the Spanish niña, the Sanskrit Kauna, have all the same sense. The Hebrew has two expressions, one signifies maiden (Mädchen), the other little man (Männlein). The little reflection that one sees of himself in the pupil of another, according to the view of most investigators, gives the occasion for this naming. Kleinpaul protests against this poetic explanation and offers a more naturalistic one. The round spot in the middle of the iris is compared by a naive phantasy with a hole and is treated as a gross symbol for the female sex, quite as happens, for example, with the ear. Whichever explanation may be correct—the fact remains of the sexualizing of wholly asexual objects.

In certain German dialects hooks and eyes indicate masculine and feminine. Expressions like mother, matrix, punch exist in the most various trades; there is always expressed a cavity and a pin which fits in it. In Italian there are masculine and feminine keys according as they have solid or hollow ends to oppose to the lock.

We speak of cities, yes of whole countries as female. Nearly all trees are, for us, feminine; manifestly the bearing of fruit is the tertium comparationis. In Latin the femininity of trees is a strongly supported rule ("Die Weiber, Bäume, Städte, Land," etc.).

I confine myself to a few pregnant examples. If one dips a little into the study of his own tongue he everywhere runs across this sexual symbolism. Kleinpaul's "Das Stromgebiet der Sprache" offers rich material in this respect.

Human fancy imputes sex also to lifeless objects. This shows the powerful significance of the sexual in human phantasy. It follows further, that man in no way stands to lifeless objects in a clearly objective but in a distinctly subjective relation, which springs from his sexuality. It lies deep in the nature of man that he should attribute life to the things that surround him: the child scolds and strikes the table on which he has struck himself. Man does not confine himself however to attributing life to things but he sexualizes them also. And so we come to an understanding of the view of Kleinpaul above, that man sexualizes everything. It is noteworthy that investigations in language and biologico-medical investigations lead in this particular to the same results.

As Freud[11] has shown, the sexual impulse of man in its early stages is auto-erotic, that is, man does not yet know any object outside of himself on which he is able to concentrate his libido. At first the libido gradually turns to other objects, at this time, however, not only human and living, but also lifeless. It will be the object of another publication to deal with this radiation of the sexuality, especially of the abnormalities in this territory, which for the comprehension of certain mental disorders are of very broad significance.

We have established, that all mankind from the beginning, has given great weight to the sexual differences. Human sexuality displays a need of expansion far beyond the object of sexual satisfaction. Man permeates and impresses everything in his environment with his sexuality and language is the witness of his, at all times, creative sexual phantasy. Such facts appear notably opposed to the reproach that Freud and his followers overestimate the rôle of the sexuality in the normal and pathological mental life. The danger of underestimating appears to me to lie much nearer. An often heard objection to Freud runs further,

[11] See "Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie." English translation No. 7, of Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series.

that the impulse of self-preservation governs human life to a much greater extent than the sexual impulse; the prominent position of the latter is therefore an exaggeration. The aim of the investigation inaugurated by Freud is in finding in everything a sexual meaning. In consciousness certainly the impulse of self-preservation with its radiations may often enough have precedence. The opponents of Freud, however, commit the error that only conscious processes are referred to. Freud has never maintained that the conscious sexual ideas have, among all the others, unconditioned superiority. It is precisely the unconscious, repressed ideas which influence phantasy in the strongest manner.

All objections brought against Freud's sexual theory melt away into nothing if we only consider our mother tongue. Language springs, as nothing else does, from the innermost being of a people. Out of it speaks the phantasy of a people; it expresses itself in a thousand symbols and analogies of which we ourselves are hardly conscious anymore. We do not speak a sentence in which a symbolic expression does not occur. This symbolism is, however, in an important and weighty part, of a sexual character. I return once more to the fact that there are in our language masculine, feminine, and sexless (neuter) words. If the opponents of Freud are right, that is if in reality the impulse of self-preservation and not the sex impulse plays the predominant rôle in the mental life of man, it must be very surprising that the language is divided according to sexual viewpoints! Why does not language rather discriminate things according as to whether they are favorable or not to our impulse to self-preservation? Why not differentiate instead of masculine, feminine, and sexless things perhaps edible, potable, and as a third category, inedible things? There are a number of objects and activities which since the earliest times have served as sexual symbols. We find them with this meaning in the Bible, the

Vedas, in the Greek and in the Norse myths, in the poetry of the pre-historic times, in dreams and so forth, again and again. Here belongs, for example, the serpent as a symbol of the male member. In Genesis it is the seducer of Eve. In the German and Norse legends we again find the serpent with the same significance.[12] The serpent plays an important rôle in the dreams of women; the significance of the symbol seems to be evident. The superstitious fear of the snake is surely dependent upon the same idea.[13] We hear, not infrequently, from mentally ill women that they have been attacked by snakes, that they have crawled into their genitals or their mouth. We know that the mouth in this sense is only a substitute for the vulva. (Freud's "Verlegung nach oben." Compare also Riklin's writings already cited.)

Another very popular symbol is the apple which represents the fruitfulness of the woman. Eve seduced Adam with the apple.[14]

The depth of sexual symbolism in man is shown in a very instructive way in the associations experiment. Stimulus words are called out to the subject to which he must react with other words occurring to him. The choice of the reaction word as well as certain signs accompanying the reaction show, in many cases, that the stimulus word has hit upon, through an associative path-way, a "complex," existing in the subject, of a sexual nature.[15] The readiness, even of the most innocent words to as-

[12] Riklin, "Psychologie und Sexualsymbolik der Märchen."

[13] Compare remarks on p. 58.

[14] One symbol of fruitfulness is the pomegranate evidently on account of its many seeds. It is therefore the attribute of Juno the goddess of wedlock. The poppy-head, rich in seeds, is an attribute of Venus. In one saga Venus changed herself into a carp; the great number of eggs born by the female carp was proverbial in ancient times. In many countries at the time of the wedding the bridal pair are pelted with rice. Similar practices prevail in many places; it signifies the blessing of children. Compare Kleinpaul, "Sprache ohne Worte," p. 27.

[15] In the work of the Zürich psychiatric clinic (especially in that of Jung "Diagnostischen Assoziationsstudien") the term "complex" is used for a strongly feeling-toned group of ideas, which has the tendency to split off from consciousness and be repressed into the unconscious.

similate to the complex, in the symbolic sense of the complex, is often enormous. This tendency does not at all come into the consciousness of the subject when he answers with the reaction word. In many cases they can themselves explain the dependence of the reaction word on a sexual complex whereby they must overcome a more or less strong inhibition. In other cases a more difficult analytic effort is required on the part of the investigator in order to uncover the connection. Whoever has some experience in the technic of the experiment and psychoanalysis, will find enough evidence in the reaction and the accompanying signs, in order to give his questions the right direction. In the Zürich psychiatric clinic a list of one hundred stimulus words is in use; their use by very many persons has given interesting results relative to the sexual symbolism of the unconscious, which besides, Freud has fully covered by results obtained in other ways.

Some examples might serve to explain. A stimulus word, that calls forth striking psychic phenomena with great regularity is the verb "to plough" (pflügen). As an experimental stimulus word it produces in the subject all those appearances that we have learned to recognize, through experience, as signs of an emotion: Lengthening of the reaction time, failure to understand or repetition of the stimulus word, stuttering in pronouncing the stimulus word, signs of embarrassment, etc. Evidently "to plow" is considered by the subject as a symbolic representation of the sexual act. It is interesting that in Greek and Latin as well as in the Oriental languages "to plow" is used quite generally in this sense.[16] Other stimulus words such as "long" (lang), "mast" (Mast), "needle" (Nadel), "narrow" (eng), "part" (Teil), are with astonishing regularity assimilated in a sexual sense. We take up words, which are commonly used without such association, in a sexual sense. If a strong sexual complex is present this tendency is especially great.

[16] Kleinpaul, "Rätsel der Sprache," p. 136.

In the face of such facts it appears quite clear to me that symbolism, and especially the sexual, is a common possession of all mankind. The objection, that symbolism, or the significance ascribed to it, exists only in the phantasy of a biased investigator falls down. Kleinpaul[17] expresses his meaning on this point with great precision and exactness: "Symbols are not made, but they are there; they are not invented, but only discovered."[18]

I will not be satisfied to refer to Freud's deductions and the example of a dream analyzed by him, but will give here a fragment of a dream analysis, so far as it is necessary for the explanation of the symbolism; the remaining dream material, for reasons of brevity, I will not consider. The dream, which was told to me by an acquaintance, runs as follows:

"I am alone in a long room. Suddenly I hear a subterranean noise, which does not astonish me, however, as I immediately remember, that from a place below a subterranean canal runs out to the water. I lift up a trap-door in the floor, and immediately a creature appears clothed in a brownish fur that resembled very nearly a seal. It threw off the fur and appeared clearly as my brother, who prayed of me, exhausted and breathless, to give him shelter, as he had run away without permission and

[17] Kleinpaul, "Sprache ohne Worte," p. 26.

[18] The critics of Freud disdain to busy themselves seriously with symbols and their nature. Recently, for example, Weygandt ("Kritische Bemerkungen zur Psychologie der Dementia praecox," *Monatsschrift für Psychiatrie und Neurologie,* Bd. 22, 1907) has attempted designedly to attribute the most absurd meaning to the symptoms of a dream state. He believes to have shown thereby the arbitrariness and absurdity of the Freudian method of interpretation. Here the fundamental error of the critic is manifest. It is believed that the symbol is arbitrarily invented, consciously produceable. It follows, however, from Freud's writings that symbolism has its roots in the unconscious. Always then, when the domination of the conscious is wholly or partially abolished—in sleep, in dream states, in states of disturbed attention—repressed ideational material emerges. These ideas appear in disguised form; they avail themselves of symbolism. As Bleuler deduces ("Freudsche Mechanismen in der Symptomatologie der Psychosen," *Psychiatr.-neurol. Wochenschrift,* 1906) symbolism depends upon a lower form of associative activity, which instead of logical connection makes use of vague analogies. Of this sort of associative activity we are not at all capable in times of clear consciousness and alert attention. Symbolism consequently can not be arbitrarily invented.

swum under water the whole way. I induced him to stretch himself out on a couch in the room, and he fell asleep. A few moments later I heard renewed a much louder noise at the door. My brother sprang up with a cry of terror: they will take me, they will think I have deserted: He slipped on his furs and tried to escape through the subterranean canal, turned about immediately, however, and said: Nothing can be done, they have occupied the passage from here to the water! At this moment the door sprung open and several men rushed in and seized my brother. I cried to them despairingly: he has done nothing, I will plead for him!—At this moment I awoke."

The dreamer had been married for some time and was in the early period of pregnancy. She looks forward to her confinement, not without anxiety. In the evening she had had various things about the development and physiology of the fetus explained to her by her physician. She had already pretty well oriented herself in relation to the whole subject from books but still had some erroneous ideas. She had, for example, not correctly grasped the significance of the waters. Further, she represented to herself the fine fetal hair (lanugo) as thick like that on a young animal.

The canal that leads directly into the water = the birth canal. Water = amniotic fluid. Out of this canal comes a hairy animal like a seal. The seal is a hairy animal that lives in water quite as the fetus lives in the amniotic fluid. This creature, the expected child, appears immediately: quick, easy confinement. It appears as the brother of the dreamer. The brother is, as a matter of fact, considerably younger than the dreamer. After the early death of the mother she had to care for him and stood in a relationship to him that had much of motherliness in it. She still preferably called him the "little one" and both younger children together "the children." The younger brother represented the expected child. She wished for a visit from him

(she lived at a considerable distance from her family), so she awaited first the brother, second the child. Here is the second analogy between brother and child. She wished, because of reasons that have no particular interest here, that her brother leave his place of residence. Therefore he has "deserted" his residence in the dream. The place lies on the water; he swims there very often (the third analogy with the fetus!). Also her residence lies on the water. The small room, in which she had the dream, has an outlook upon the water. In the room stands a lounge that can be used as a bed; it serves as a bed when there is a guest who remains over night. She awaited her brother, as such a guest, in this room. A fourth analogy: the room will later become a nursery, the baby will sleep there!

The brother is breathless when he arrives. He has swum under the water. Also the fetus, when it has left the canal, must struggle for breath. The brother falls to sleep at once like a child soon after its birth.

Now follows a scene in which the brother exhibits a lively anxiety in a situation out of which there is no escape. One such imminent to the dreamer herself is the confinement. This prepares anxiety for her already in advance. In the dream she displaces the anxiety to the fetus by way of the brother representing it. She induces him to lie down because he is so exhausted. After the confinement she will be exhausted and lie down—in the dream she is active and lets the brother lie down. She extends the affair in still another way: The brother is a jurist and must act as an advocate, "plead." This rôle she takes from him, she will plead for him. Therefore she displaces her anxiety on him.

This dream contains symbols which may serve as typical examples. Between a child and a seal, between a subterranean canal and the birth canal there exist only vague analogies. Notwithstanding one is used for the other in the dream. The

brother of the dreamer appears in place of the child, although he has been grown up for a long time. For her he is just the little one (der Kleine). The dream makes use by preference of such words which can be understood in different senses.

The wish-fulfilling of this dream is in part evident: The wish for an easy confinement about which it is not necessary to be anxious, and the wish to be able to care for the brother. It is probable that this, not fully and finally interpreted dream, contains still a further concealed wish-fulfillment within itself.

In order to show that certain psychopathological states have the same sort of symbolism I will give only one example. The hallucinations of the mentally deranged whether they continue for many years or only appear transitorily during a dream state, resemble the dream pictures to an extraordinary extent. The analysis shows that it is not simply a superficial similarity.

A little girl when ten years of age was abused by her uncle, a drunkard, in the barn near her parents' house. He had threatened to set the house on fire if she resisted him. Through the intimidation of the threats she yielded to the uncle several times. On one occasion of this sort her mind became disordered, the memory crystallized on the sexual outrage and self-reproach, which she had on account of her compliance, the real content of the psychosis and which determined the symptoms. She concealed herself behind a sexual symbolism which was throughout in accord with the dream symbolism. From the original account of this case which I have already published[19] I will cite this interesting sentence: The patient suffered for many years with nocturnal visions, she saw especially the burning barn. This vision is plainly doubly determined; the uncle had threatened to start a fire and had abused her in the barn. Besides she had frightful dreams. Once there came a lot of owls; they looked at her sharply, flew at her, tore off her covering and smock and

[19] "Über die Bedeutung sexueller Jugendtraumen für die Symptomatologie der Dementia praecox," *Zentralblatt f. Nervenheilk.*, 1907.

cried: shame on you, you are naked! This is plainly a reminiscence of the outrage. Later in the waking state, she saw hell. The scene which she saw here was strongly sexually colored. She saw "transformed creatures," half animal, half human, as snakes, tigers, owls. There appeared also drunkards who changed into tigers and attacked female animals. In the wish-fulfillments contained in these visions and dreams one recognizes the whole history of the case. Here is sufficient to understand the symbol. Especially interesting is the incorporation of the uncle of the patient in the "transformed creature," which was compounded of the drunkard and the tiger. The drunkenness and beastly roughness of the uncle were united in a symbol. The serpent, in a clearly sexual scene, can have no other meaning than that we have already learned to know. Certain species of animals play a large rôle as sexual symbols in dreams and in the psychoses. One patient I knew, who was very erotic and who suffered from hebephrenia gave the name of "beauty beasts" (Schönheitstiere) to the animals that appeared to her in hallucinations. A euphemism which is still not fully free from the erotic!

Riklin has accumulated excellent examples of this kind from the legends of different peoples. Finally I may refer to the symbolism in the novel of Jensen analyzed by Freud.

IV

Analysis of the Prometheus Saga

Through the most different kinds of human phantasy the same symbolism runs which in a very substantial part is sexual. I turn now to the analysis of the myth. While we will only busy ourselves with the symbolism in its construction it presents still other important analogies with dreams.

According to the view of the Greeks Prometheus created man and then robbed the gods of fire in order to bring it to his creatures. That man was created by a higher being is an idea which we meet among the most varied peoples. Although perfectly familiar to us it is still lacking an explanation. The account of the creator of man as not a true god-head and also not a man, who robbed the gods of fire and thus came in conflict with Zeus, is likewise in need of explanation. Kuhn is the founder of comparative mythology; to him the science is indebted for a number of fundamental studies of different mythological figures. It follows from these that certain of the common traditions of the Indogermanic folks are contained in the Indian Vedas in much more original form than they were known from the Greek and other origins. So he succeeded in tracing the figures of Athene, the Centaurs, Orpheus, Wotan, and other gods and heroes of the Greek and Germanic myths, to Vedic origins and thereby has been able to give the true explanation of the sense of the myths. Of greater significance for mythological research is his comprehensive treatise "Über die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks" (1859, new edition 1886). His footsteps were forthwith followed by other investigators as Delbrück, Steinthal, Cohen, Roth, Max Müller, Schwarz. I give in the following

only the most important results of Kuhn's researches, confining myself moreover to technical grounds preliminarily of the myth of the origin of the fire. I will confine myself in part to the résumé of Kuhn's work which Steinthal[20] has given in a critical review; I have also made use of the general remarks which Cohen[21] has added to Kuhn's deductions. It is naturally not possible in the compass of this presentation, to completely present for the several points of the analysis, the proofs of comparative philology and mythology. In this respect I must refer to the original as well as to the two works of Steinthal and Cohen named.

So far the investigations give us the explanation that all Indo-germanic peoples produced fire by rubbing. We can point to this method still in historical times; even the technical expressions belonging to it are known to us. Among people of other races poor in culture we still meet to-day the same procedure. How man came to generate fire through friction may remain uncertain. According to Kuhn nature may have been the teacher of man: he might have observed in the primitive forest, how a dry twig of an ivy, moved by the wind, was rubbed in the hollow of a branch and then broke out in flames. Peschel[22] has already drawn attention to the improbability of this explanation; he thinks that by boring and other mechanical occupations man must have learned to know of the heating of two objects by friction, besides he observed similar occurrences in nature.

The primitive means of producing fire consisted of a stick of hard wood and a piece of soft wood which contained a hollow. Through turning and boring movements of the stick in the hole the wood was set on fire. Fire created in this way shows the characteristic that after a time it goes out; it must then be called

[20] Steinthal, "Die Prometheussaga in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt," *Zeitschrift. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. 2, 1862.

[21] Cohen, H., "Mythologische Vorstellungen von Gott und Seele," *Zeitschrift. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. 5 u. 6, 1868 u. 1869.

[22] Peschel, "Völkerkunde," 6. Aufl., Leipzig, 1885, S. 141.

forth anew. Man made the same observation, however, about one other fire—namely, the heavenly. In the heavens the fire of the sun appears to him daily, warming and lighting; sometimes he saw further rays of fire descending from heaven, lighting and burning. The heavenly fire also goes out after a while. So probably there must be something in heaven that burns and goes out. According to a very ancient idea the Indo-germanic races beheld in the cloud formations a tree—the earthly ash which we meet again and again in the most varied myths. The wood of the ash serves man as a means of making fire. When they saw the fire of heaven there the wood of the heavenly ash was burning. The lightning darting from heaven to earth was fire coming down from the ash. From this arose the belief that the earthly fire was fire descended from heaven. The quick movement of the lightning through the air called to mind the flight of birds; from this arose the further assumption, a bird, which nested in the heavenly ash has brought the heavenly fire to earth. In the myths of different peoples and at different times it is the eagle, the hawk, or the woodpecker, that have been assigned this rôle. Certain kinds of trees, for example, the mountain ash which bears red fruit, thorns and feathery leaves serve as a transformation of the lightning bird. In these parts are recognized again the color, claws, and feathers of the birds.

To the heavenly and earthly fire there was added in the ideas of the Indo-germanic myths a third kind, the fire of life. We touch here on the same analogy that made possible the identification of the heavenly and the earthly fires. The life fire must also be awakened. So long as it dwells in the body the body is warm. And like every fire the life-fire also goes out. The most apt analogy lay, however, in the production and the preparation of the fire. As fire is produced by the boring of a stick in a disc of wood so is human life created in the mother's womb. Many are the evidences for this conception in myths and in

language. I will only mention here that the two principal parts of the primitive apparatus for the production of fire often bear the names of the male and female genitals. To such an extent was this view of the people transferred to flesh and blood. Even more: We find the same identification in the Semitic languages. In Hebrew the expression for male and female signifies exactly the borer and the hollowed.

So now the origin of the life-fire, the creation of man, likewise is transferred above to the ash. From it comes mankind like the fire; from it also man, like the fire, is brought by a bird to the earth. The stork that brings the children.

A later epoch, which so to say, settles like a new stratum in the myths, concerns the man-like gods. It retains the old analogy of fire and life; only it gives it a new form: the god of fire is also the man-god. In the Vedas we meet a god Agni (agni = Latin ignis, fire), who incorporates fire, light, sun and lightning, at the same time, however, he is also the first man. In the myths of different peoples Agni is also at the same time the lightning-bird. Picus, the woodpecker, was in the oldest Latin myths the fire-bird, lightning and man. A Latin version of the myth makes him the first king of Latium; besides, however, he remained the tutelar god of lying-in women and sucklings—consequently the god of life.

With the increasing personification of the gods everything in nature became either a product or an attribute of the gods. So fire was now no longer a god but was produced by a god. A god starts the sun fire, which had expired, by boring in the sun disc anew each morning; he produces lightning when he casts a dart in the storm clouds. As with the heavenly fire so with the earthly, it must always be generated anew. When the fire goes out Agni has disappeared; he must have hidden himself. As he hides himself in heaven in a cloud (the cloud tree), so he hides himself on earth in the wooden disc, from which he can be called

forth by boring and rubbing. Here we meet a new personage in the myth, whose oldest name (in the Vedas) is Matarichvan. Matarichvan brings Agni, who is hidden in the clouds or in the woods, back to earth. According to another version he finds Agni in a cavern. He brings to man the light and warmth which he needs to live. His name signifies "he who swells or works in the mother"—that is again lightning or the boring stick.

Matarichvan, the fire-bringer, corresponds in the Greek myth to Prometheus. In historical times the name Prometheus, which has experienced various changes, has been interpreted as "forethought," As an older form he is, among other things, referred to as "Pramantha." This name has a double meaning. It signifies first the "forth-rubber," that is, one who through rubbing brings something forth.

Through rubbing he brings the fire forth and generates man. Here it is to be noted that "matha" signifies the male genitals. The second meaning of Pramantha is the fire-robber. Close to the idea that Prometheus-Pramantha created the fire, is the other idea, that he—like Matarichvan—brought or stole the fire from heaven. He concealed the sparks in a shrub, that is, one of the sort of wood that serves for the creation of fire.

In the myth we thus see fire represented in three different forms: as fire (fire-god), as fire-maker (or rubber, or fetcher) and finally as man. Man in the myth, is in so far also identical with fire, as the first man sometimes springs from fire, and because man conceals within himself the fire of life.

V

Infantilism in Individual and Folk Psychology. Wish-fulfillment in Dream and Myth

The short presentation, which I have made, is capable of giving only an incomplete idea of the multiplicity of sources which meet in the Prometheus saga. Their investigation was of the greatest scientific significance. They led to a break with the common view that the myth is a figurative expression of a philosophical or religious thought. Kuhn sought to show that every myth rests on a natural intuition. He pointed out that every myth outside of the content which is evident at once from the meaning of the words, has still a latent content, which is concealed behind symbolical expressions.[23] Whoever is acquainted with Freud's method of dream interpretation and the dream-theory, which was derived from it, will observe, that between Kuhn's interpretation of the Prometheus saga and Freud's interpretation of dreams far-reaching analogies exist. When to two structures which outwardly show such important differences, as is the case with dreams and myths, the same methods of investigation are applicable, one is able to see therein a new confirmation of the hypothesis that behind outer differences there lies concealed an inner relationship. The example of the Prometheus saga will serve to demonstrate the psychological relationship of dreams and myths.

The myth of Prometheus, so far as it occupies us here, may

[23] Kuhn is not afraid to speak openly of the sexual character of these symbols. That such a doctrine should be attacked as unscientific and immoral we have, in our day, sufficiently endured. Steinthal undertakes, in his work already cited (p. 3), to defend Kuhn on both sides. I cannot refrain from quoting his words here, because they appear to be directed prophetically against the opponents of the Freudian teachings. "When with the exactness, and the conscientiousness of a judge, the importance of each reason is examined and without persuasion is presented ungarnished and the conclusions always drawn with the greatest caution, it merits not only scientific but moral recognition."

be told in a few words. The significance, which the true sense of these few words reveals to us, takes a very much greater space. Quite similar relations exist in the case of dreams. A short dream contains much more than we could guess from the simple relation. In the same way as Freud has established in dreams, so in myths, there is found concealed behind the manifest content a latent content. For the discovery of the latter a method of interpretation is needed. This must, the same as in the interpretation of dreams, discover the ideas and feelings of the whole material, which have found expression in the myth.

The more or less important differences of the latent and manifest dream content explains why the dreamer only seldom is able to understand his own dream. He interprets the dream to himself as senseless, absurd, and disputes probably the idea that the dream contains any sense at all; if he tries really to penetrate the significance of his dream he gives an insufficient explanation because it only takes into consideration the manifest content. It is not otherwise with the folks! They likewise do not understand the latent content of their myths. They give an insufficient explanation of them. An example will easily explain this. The dreams of the death of near relatives, with which we have already occupied ourselves, are, by the persons in which they occur, probably without exception falsely interpreted. Quite similarly the Greeks mistook the true meaning of the Prometheus saga. They misunderstood even the meaning of the name Prometheus. We will return to this point.

The fact that the myth-creating people suppress their own mental product as the dreamer does in his dream requires an explanation. Freud gives as the key to this riddle: "The dream is a fragment of the repressed life of the infantile psyche." This assertion is not understandable without something further. Freud comes to his view in the following way. Our mind preserves far more impressions than our memory is commonly aware of. Especially do we

"forget" readily such reminiscences as are associated with a painful feeling-tone. They are, however, not absolutely obliterated, but only the capacity for voluntary reproduction is withdrawn. We have already come to know this process of repression into the unconscious. Especially do we tend to put out of our consciousness wishes that remain unfulfilled or are unfulfillable on account of the painful feeling-tone that is attached to them. Dreams receive a large and essential portion of their material from repressed ideas; only a smaller and less important part of the dream content is actually of recent occurrence. The same thing holds true when the activity of consciousness is disturbed by pathological processes. Then also old reminiscences rise up out of the depths of repression. We may observe this especially well in hysteria and dementia præcox. The idea of repression is indispensible for the explanation of the most various pathological symptoms. The repressed memories may originate at any age. The results of careful analysis have succeeded in showing, however, that the ultimate basis of a dream or of the symptom of a given mental disease, is a reminiscence of childhood. The child fulfills his wishes, the real, unrepressed ones even, so far as they are not realized, in day and dream phantasies. In later years these phantasy activities are, by preference, relegated to sleep. In the dream the adult preserves, not only the childhood species of thinking but also the object of the infantile thoughts. The infantile wishes and events rest in the bosom of the unconscious, only apparently forgotten. They wait here, in a way, until the individual has an experience which is analogous to an infantile occurrence. Then that which is analogous will become assimilated to the earlier experience. So the infantile memory experiences a reinforcement in the unconscious. When it attains a certain intensity it expresses itself in normal individuals in dreams, in neurotic or psychotic individuals in the symptoms of the disease. It needs two conditions: a lowering of conscious activity as occurs in

dreams and certain pathological states, and an actual occasion. In general one is not inclined to concede to infantile occurrences and wishes such comprehensive results, as I do with Freud. One will object that the infantile interests are suppressed by others in later life. Still that is, as will be shown, only on apparent counter argument. The significance of infantile emotions and reminiscences for normal and pathological psychology was never estimated at its true value until the appearance, in 1895, of the "Studien über Hysterie" by Breuer and Freud. It remains the service of these two authors to have directed attention to the significance of infantile reminiscences. Freud still further elaborated these teachings in the following years. The view of the significance of infantile events has, to be sure, experienced substantial alterations, which, however, in no way means an abandonment of the doctrine of psychic infantilism. That the early infantile reminiscences exercise so great an influence on the psychic development of the individual we may perhaps be able to explain. If the child has many experiences which are determined by outside causes, and so are not grounded in his individuality, yet there are still others that proceed directly from his own characteristics. In two small contributions[24] I have attempted to show this for certain sexual happenings in childhood. We can formulate the results in general as follows: a part of the happenings, and probably the most affective, the child owes to his inherent, inborn emotivity. In this way it comes about that the child in early youth has not yet learned to subordinate, on ethical grounds, certain wishes, that his nature is not yet blunted but is alive to all impressions, that it therefore reacts with greater and less restrained intensity.

The memories of childhood assimilate later. Namely, the repressed infantile wishes establish themselves in the later life.

[24] Abraham, "Über die Bedeutung sexueller Jugendtrauman für die Symptomatologie der Dementia praecox," *Zentralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie*, 1907, and "Das Erleiden sexueller Traumen als Form infantiler Sexualbetätigung."

I am reminded here of the infantile preference of the son for the mother and his rivalry with the father as well as the wish associated with this feeling. An actual occasion wakes again this memory of childhood. Now it finds expression in a dream. This example stands for many that serve to explain the sense which Freud gives to the dream as a fragment of the repressed life of the infantile psyche.

In the dream the infantile phantasy activity, together with its objects, continues to live. The analogy of the myth with the dream discloses itself now at a stroke. The myth springs from a period, in the life of a people, long gone by, which we may designate as the childhood of the race. The authority for this comparison is easy to show. An expression, which Freud makes use of in the "Traumdeutung" illustrates this well. Freud designates the period of childhood, which we remember only indistinctly, as the prehistoric time in the history of the individual. Although our reminiscences of that time are very indefinite, still they have not passed by without leaving impressions behind. The wishes that lay in our heart at that time and which we at best remember in an imperfect way, are not wholly effaced, but only repressed and continue to live in our dream phantasies. All this takes place also in the myths. They originate in the prehistoric times of the race, and have come down to us from the indefinite traditions. They contain memory rests from their childhood. Can the wish-fulfillment theory of dreams also be transferred to myths?

I maintain this and formulate my view, in harmony with Freud's teachings in regard to dreams, as follows: The myth is a fragment of the repressed life of the infantile psyche of the race. It contains (in disguised form) the wishes of the childhood of the race.

We have already found important evidence for this view by comparing certain myths with "typical" dreams. We saw that

in the Œdipus saga, as in certain dreams, the infantile sexuality found expression. From the sexual transference of the libido of the son on to the mother arose wishes which as with many others availed themselves of repression. Education is nothing but a forced, systematic repression of inborn tendencies.

In the youth of a race, when more natural relations still prevail, when the conventions have not yet assumed rigid forms, every tendency could be realized. At a later time they were suppressed by a process which we can designate in the individual as repression. But they do not die out wholly but are retained in the myths. This process, for which I might propose the name of "mass repression," is the reason the people no longer understand the original meaning of their myths quite as we can not understand our dreams without some explanation.[25]

It appears that a people whose myths are concerned with its earliest childhood express in them such wishes as they have been accustomed to repress most strongly. Let us consider the biblical description of Paradise! Freud has aptly characterized it: "Paradise is nothing but the mass phantasy of the childhood of the individuals." Genesis relates of Adam and Eve, with special emphasis, that they were naked and were not ashamed. We know that the custom of the Jews rigidly required the clothing of the body. The infraction of this custom was always especially censured in the biblical stories. We find again, in a typical dream, a parallel to the mass phantasy of the nakedness of the first man. We all occasionally dream that we are going about in very deficient clothing, even moving about among people, who, however, take no notice of our state. The affect of anxiety which accompanies this dream corresponds to the strong repression of the infantile wish to show ourselves naked before others. Freud has

[25] That a people no longer understands its own myths can not be due to their having taken them over partly from other peoples. They could only have taken them over because they found their own complexes in them. These, however, were just the ones repressed. Besides each people alter myths they take over; they must then at least understand the meaning of the alteration; this is, however, not the case.

brought a great amount of evidence to show that in this dream we are dealing with an infantile nakedness phantasy ("Traumdeutung," S. 166 f.). He recalls in this connection, that children take great pleasure in showing themselves naked before other children or adults or exhibiting before themselves. There are people, in whom these infantile adnexa of the sex instinct are retained in abnormal strength and the normal activity is fully pressed aside: they are the exhibitionists.

The very rigorous ethics of the Jews in regard to the sexual relation demanded that the mass phantasy of nakedness be transferred to the earliest childhood of man. The Greeks, who were ashamed of nakedness in a much narrower sense, did not need to go back so far. Freud has shown that the saga of Odysseus and Nausicaa deals with the same theme. He therefore puts it parallel to the above-mentioned nakedness dreams.

The Greek Prometheus saga corresponds to the biblical story of the creation of the first man. As we saw, it is differentiated from it by the lack of one of the analogous ingredients of the nakedness phantasy. It contains, on the contrary, the story of the stealing of fire, for which the biblical presentation offers no correlate. We have now to discover what repressed mass phantasies or wishes find expression in the Greek anthropogeny, especially also, of what significance, in this respect, the robbery of the fire is. In order to attain this object we must first consider certain general characteristics of myths, and for the explanation of these turn back again to Freud's theory of dreams.

Freud declares every dream to be egoistic. We have to learn to suppress all our egoistic tendencies. The majority, on social, familiar, and other grounds, we must by preference repress. When now, as in dreams, the unconscious comes to expression, the repressed emotions break through. Surely they must carefully disguise themselves; for their frank entrance would be prevented by the censor. The egoism of the dream expresses itself

by the invariable appearance in the central point of the dream of the dreamer himself. This is certainly not meant in the sense that the dreamer always sees himself in the dream as the center of the dream process. Very often he follows, so to speak, the drama only as an onlooker. Then, however, he represents, through the actor, the title rôle. This rôle falls to a person who has a characteristic, an occurrence, or something in common with the dreamer. The dreamer identifies himself with the principal personage in the dream. So the appearance is brought about that the principal personage of the dream also occupies the most prominent place in the dream. As a matter of fact the identification signifies they are the same—"just as" one another (Freud, "Traumdeutung," S. 216). But "just as" cannot be expressed in the language of dreams; the dream can only express comparison by replacing a person or an object by an analogy. That the object of the dream—a wish-fulfillment—is likewise throughout egoistic, we have often established in the discussions of Freud's explanations above. In the same sense are those other psychic structures egoistic which we have placed parallel with the dream. It would lead too far, at this point, to show this for the hysterical dream-states. The relation shows clearer in the chronic psychoses with delusional formation. The psychosis is also throughout egoistic. The patient is, under all cimcumstances, the central point of his delusional system. He is exposed to intrigues, injurious influences, persecutions of all sorts which are put in operation against him from all sides. His co-workers wish him out of the way, a detective is watching him. He is the one, single, righteous person against whom the world of unrighteousness and jealousy has declared war. He has placed himself in opposition to the world. So every delusion of persecution contains implicitly a delusion of grandeur. Psychiatry, in general, cares to speak of delusions of grandeur only when a special grandiose idea is expressed. We would do better to speak in a general

sense of a grandiose complex. When we listen to an insane person relate his delusional system we are reminded by its structure of the sagas of mythology, which have been constructed about special figures. The delusional system of an insane person is like a myth in which he celebrates his own greatness. There are insane persons who assert themselves to be some particular, famous, historical person, perhaps Napoleon or Bismarck. Such a patient, who finds some analogy between himself and Napoleon, identifies himself with Napoleon without further ceremony—quite as we are wont to do in dreams. The psychoses have no expression for "just as" quite as the dream. If we go a little further into detail we find a wealth of proofs for the correctness of this comparison. Insane persons, for example, commonly refer their delusional ideas, especially their grandiose ideas, back to their childhood. I refer especially to the delusional ideas of birth because they are of great interest for the further analysis of the Prometheus saga. Cases of this sort are known to every psychiatrist. A patient asserts, perhaps, that the people whose name he bears are not his true parents; he is, as a matter of fact the son of a princely person, there is a mysterious reason why he should be put aside and on that account he was given over, when a child, to be cared for by his "parents." His enemies maintain the fiction that he is of low birth in order to suppress his just claim to the crown or great wealth.

This delusion of birth reminds us again of the infantile day dreams in which the boy is a prince or king, and through his victories casts the fame of everybody else in the shade. The wish to become something great is satisfied by the phantasy of royal descent. For in the childish phantasy a prince is predestined, for no other reason than that he is a prince, to arouse the admiration of all the world. The object of desire of the mental stirrings of the child is to become great—in the double sense of the word. It appears to me that whoever, as adult, always succeeds or imagines

himself to succeed has born a grandiose complex in his breast in his childhood. The phantasies, which he invented in his youth he forgets later. The complex, however, in whose service these phantasies stand, does not die before the man. If he sees, in his advanced age, his ambitions unfulfilled, then, the mentally sound as well, commonly transfer their wish-fulfillment back to childhood and become laudator temporis acti.

This grandiose complex is peculiar to the childhood of a race quite in the same way as to the childhood of the individual; also in the "historical" period of a race it does not vanish without leaving traces, as we have also been able to establish for the individual. Also in myths an identification takes place. The race identifies itself with the principal figure of the myth. "Just as" is also absent in myths.[26]

Every race has associated the beginning of their existence with a myth, which reminds us in a surprising way of the delusions of descent of the insane. Every race will descend from its god head, be "created" by him. Creation is nothing but procreation divested of the sexual. This appears with wonderful clearness from Kuhn's interpretation of the Prometheus saga. Prometheus "creates" the man; he is, however, if we search his history, the borer, generator and at the same time the fire-god. We learn from the Vedas of different sects of priests who were in the service of the fire-god Agni and derived their descent from fire! The names of these priestly sects (Angirasen, Bhrgu, etc.) mean either fire or flame. So man deduces his descent from the gods, whom he himself created, from fire, that he gave to god, from the world-ash, from which the fire came to him. Askr, the ash, in the northern sagas is the ancestor of the human species. So man, in the early times, projected his grandiose complex into the heavens. What unworthy successors are our insane who are sat-

[26] Steinthal ("Die Saga von Samson," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychol. und Sprachwissenschaft,* Bd. 2, 1862) declares, that the word gleichwie (just as) has brought about the greatest revolution in the mental development of mankind.

isfied with descent from a great person of this earth, and we ourselves, we do the same things in our childhood phantasies!

The Prometheus saga is also rich in examples of identification. It is only necessary to recall the identification of borer, lightning and man. If man is generated by god then is he, also, godly or the god is human. Man identifies himself then with the godhead. So it is in the older forms of the Prometheus saga; it is only in later times that creation has been set in place of procreation.

The old testament story of creation is only apparently an exception. In the story of Genesis the man surely does not descend from his divine creator. God creates man after his image; here in the manifest content of the story a similarity occurs in place of an identification. The descent of Israel is derived from the patriarchs. The researches of comparative mythology have disclosed, however, that the patriarchs are the changed forms of a heathen god world. So Israel originally derived its descent by divine causes. This view must adjust itself later to monotheism. Now the old family gods appear in the service of the single god. The national pride must be satisfied by bringing the patriarch into a specially close relation with their god. God appears in personal relations with them, speaks to them and makes agreements with them, which are binding on their descendants; these feel therefore again that their god is very near.

VI

The Effect of the Censor in Dreams and Myths. The Work of Condensation

We have come to know already of the idea of the censor. While in the dream the practiced repression of consciousness is removed, still the unfettered wishes are prevented from open expression. The censor does not permit the repressed idea expression by clear, unequivocal words, but compels it to appear in a strange dress. By means of the dream distortion the true (latent) dream content is transposed into the manifest content. The latent dream thoughts already formed in the waking state are, as Freud has shown, on the way to becoming unconscious thought activities. The dream makes no new thoughts, it moulds over those formed in the waking state according to the demands of the censor. Freud distinguishes four ways in which this work is accomplished. We have now to prove whether similar relations exist in myths, whether a censor works here also and whether the myth makes use of the same means of presentation for evasion as the dream. We can here also use the Prometheus saga as a paradigm, but will draw upon other myths at certain places in the compass of our consideration.

Of the various processes of the dream work let us consider first "condensation." We have already learned to know it in the Prometheus saga but are then no nearer its understanding. Its surprise is, that the Prometheus saga, which appears so simple at first glance, in its few words gives expression to a great number of ideas. The latter form, as we have already seen, the latent content of the myth. One element of the manifest dream content very commonly contains not one but several dream thoughts. The relation is quite similar in myths. If the few words of the saga

are to contain all these thoughts, as Kuhn's work has shown us, each word, so to say, must be "overdetermined," quite as it is in the dream. Dream interpretation is able to bring proof that a person appearing in the dream may represent several related realities. For example, it is not rare that a dream person may have the face of one person known to the dreamer and the rest of the body of another acquaintance. The dreamer thus brings these two persons in relation to one another probably because they accord in some important point. Every occurrence of the dream can likewise be numerously determined. In dream analysis we must therefore always take note of ambiguity; each word of the dream story may hold a double or more numerous meaning.

The elements of the myth, like the elements of the dream, are also overdetermined. The Greek Prometheus saga owes its form to a very active process of condensation. The form of Prometheus, as we have found by analysis, is condensed from three views. According to the first he is the fire god, according to the second he is the fire, according to the third he is man. From these ideas the saga of the robbery of the fire was condensed. Steinthal[27] has put together, with great pregnancy, this extremely important conclusion of Kuhn's analysis: "After the fire god as man has come down from heaven he brings himself as man or as god himself, as god or as a divine element on the earth, and bestows himself as an element in himself as mortal."

To one who is accustomed to analyze dreams with the help of Freud's method the inner relationship of dreams and myths, on the basis of the common process of condensation, will be apparent. In apparently insignificant details of the myth he will distinguish condensations, quite analogous to what he has already met in dreams. Kuhn's analysis brings out for nearly every element of the Prometheus saga, for every single symbol, the proof of multiple determinations. I only call attention to how, for example,

[27] Steinthal, "Die Prometheussaga in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt," Seite 9.

in the heavenly bird the most varied symbolic functions are condensed.

The strange neologisms of the dream have to thank the work of condensation for their occurrence. Freud gives ("Traumdeutung," S. 202 f., as well as in other places) interesting examples of this kind as well as their interpretation. The insane furnish examples of neologisms of a quite similar kind.[28] The normal man also does the same thing while awake when he "misspeaks." Examples of this can be found especially in Freud's "Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens." I will quote only an example from those that can be found there.[29]

"A young man said to his sister: 'I have quite fallen out with D., I do not greet her any more.' She answered: 'Altogether a fine (Lippschaft).' She intended to say relative (Sippschaft) but she crowded together two different things in this error of speech, that her brother had begun a flirtation with the daughter of this family, and this called up that she had recently been engaged in a serious, illicit love affair (Liebschaft)."

The same word condensations that we meet with in the normal individual's mistakes, in dreams, and also in the neologisms of the insane is offered us in the Prometheus saga. Pramantha (= Prometheus) produces by rubbing (Reiben) fire and . . . man; according to another idea he steals (raubt) the fire, in order to bring it to man. These two views are condensed in the name Pramantha. Pramantha signifies the "bringer forth" (Hervorreibende), that is, producing by rubbing (Reiben), and at the same time the (fire) robber (Raubende). This condensation was made possible through the similarity in sound of the substantive matha (= the male genitals, compare the Latin mentula) and the verbal root math (= take, rob). There is still the double sense of Reiben (to rub) to be noted.

[28] Jung, "Psychologie der Dementia praecox," Halle, 1907.
[29] Zweite Auflage, 1907, Seite 30 f.

VII

Displacement and Secondary Elaboration in Dreams and Myths

Condensation explains, in the myth as in the dream, a great number of differences between the latent and manifest content. A second method, through which the unconscious leads to dream distortion, is called by Freud "displacement." This element of the dream work also finds its analogy in myths. From grounds, which will soon be evident, I will consider with displacement a third element of the dream work, "secondary elaboration."

When we began our consideration of the analogies of dreams and myths it was incumbent upon us to first show the authority for such a procedure. We could easily dispose of two objections while a third we left preliminarily unsettled. To it we must now turn back. The myth, one may object, according to the results of recent investigations, has gone through significant changes, before it took the form, in which it has come to us, while the dream appears to be a very fugitive structure born only for the moment. That is only apparently so. The dream content is, as a matter of fact, likewise a long time in preparation. If we compare the life period of man with that of the race we find that dreams and myths have their roots in the prehistoric time. We saw that the elements of the dream were already formed in the waking state. Now let us add: The development of the dream is not closed with the awaking of the dreamer. The concurrence of the ideas and wishes of the dream with the censor continues. If we seek to call a dream back to memory, especially when we are telling it to another person, the censor undertakes additional changes, in order to make the dream distortion more complete.

This is what Freud calls "secondary elaboration."[30] It is only a continuation of the work of displacement of the dream. Both processes are of the same nature and serve the same purpose. They displace content and affect of the dream. Those elements which possess prime significance in the dream thoughts play a more secondary rôle in the dream, while some unimportant incident is treated with exaggerated importance. Thus there comes about, as Freud expresses it, a "transvaluation of all values" in the dream. The insignificant becomes instead the significant pushed into the focal point of interest, and the affect-tone bound up with the dream thoughts is displaced from the significant to the insignificant. Both repeat themselves once again in secondary elaboration. It is exactly the critical places of the dream that most quickly and definitely relapse into repression after waking, whereby their reproduction is rendered difficult. The affect also suffers once again thereby the former similar modification.

When a complex of strong emotional value lays at the bottom of a dream, that complex—in the same or in a subsequent night —produces further dreams. These further dreams tend towards the same wish fulfillment as the first, they only draw within their reach new means of expression, other symbols, and new associations. A strong complex may express itself for years in the form of a recurring dream. In this respect it is only necessary to remember the previously detailed treatment of the typical dreams, for example the typical infantile nakedness dream. Again the typical dream is the means of transition from the consideration of dreams to that of myths. Mutatis mutandis we recognize the same psychological process in that the same dream accompanies an individual through the different periods of his life and becomes thereby gradually changed by the taking up of new ele-

[30] I note here only those expressions of secondary elaboration, which appear on trying to reproduce the dream; these are of special significance for comparison with myths. As to the other results of secondary elaboration, which already during the dream influence its form, I will not discuss them.

ments, and that a myth suffers gradual modifications in the different life periods of a race.

Now the period of time in which a myth develops is naturally infinitely greater than for a dream. Further we can obtain, from a person whose dream we are interpreting, information about doubtful points. To analyze a myth, on the contrary, is extraordinarily difficult, because we are required to penetrate a psychological structure by comparison and combination, that originated thousands of years before. After so long a period of time it is only in a few especially favorable cases that it is possible to ascertain, what share in the displacement work was due to the time in which the myth was fixed, and what to later times, in which it was passed by word of mouth from generation to generation. New generations had new views. So where a transmittal did not correspond to its views, that generation undertook a "secondary elaboration" of the myth. We should also not forget what a wide reaching influence the myths of neighboring people have on the transmittal of racial myths. For all these reasons it would call for doing violence to the facts if we undertook, in myths, an artificial separation of diplacement and secondary elaboration. I leave it at times uncertain, when I speak hereafter of the work of displacement in myths, whether I am dealing with a primary or a secondary displacement.

VIII

The Effect of Displacement in the Sagas of Prometheus, Moses, and Samson

We have already repeatedly met with the effects of displacement in myths without having especially devoted our attention to it. The Greek Prometheus saga bears clear traces of the work of displacement. As we have learned from Kuhn's researches, this myth reaches back to a time in which the natural forces were not yet worshiped in the form of man-like gods. Agni and Matharichvan came into existence with the gradual personification of the gods. The former was the fire god; the latter the fire-boring-out god, who brought Agni back when he had hidden himself. The two figures are not separated originally; Matharichvan appears rather as another name for Agni and separates itself later from him as an independent being.

Matharichvan, to whom the Greek Prometheus corresponds, was then properly the fire-bringer. In the Greek myth he became the fire-robber. He took the fire from heaven to man against the will of the gods and suffered punishment for doing it. Prometheus must thus be subordinated to the will of Zeus; therein lies the most important displacement of the saga. The original myth, according to which Matharichvan—Prometheus—brought Agni back, lacks the affect tone in the way of censure for this undertaking. The Greek version of the myth employs here an affect displacement. Prometheus, who sinned against the gods, becomes thus the representation of man who often enough has rebelled against the council of the gods. Through this transformation of the saga the original sense of the name Prometheus —Pramantha—was lost. The ancient, naïve times had called him the generator, the borer. This view disappeared by re-

pression until the people had fully forgotten the meaning of the names. The meaning was still further modified and now he is interpreted as "forethought." Had he not brought his creatures fire and so honestly won such a name! The transformation of the name Pramantha into Prometheus and the associated change of meaning offers us a very instructive example of displacement.

The process of displacement in the Prometheus saga gains considerable in interest if we turn our attention to that portion of Kuhn's works not hitherto considered. Kuhn treats alongside of the myth of the origin of fire the one closely related to it of the origin of the nectar. I cannot go into the common origin of these myths here without departing too much from the theme. I will be satisfied therefore with one reference, that among other things has given occasion for the common origin of lightning and rain from the storm clouds, and reduced fire and nectar in the myth to a common origin. Our interest here is mostly a result of comparative mythology: That the Greek (and Indo-germanic) saga of Prometheus corresponds to the Moses of the Bible. If we compare the law-bringer Moses with the fire-bringer Prometheus on the basis of the Old Testament accounts and the presentation of Æschylus the two figures certainly appear to have very little in common. The story of Moses carries, however, as well as that of Prometheus, the traces of a considerable displacement. We must probably differentiate the old mythical Moses from the biblical. The biblical Moses ascends, like Prometheus, to heaven and brings the laws down— as he did the fire. Amidst thunder and lightning he ascends; here the storm returns. It is probably also not an accident that the law was called "fiery." In general we see Moses as the true servant of this one God; while Prometheus comes in conflict with the gods through the robbery of the fire, Moses receives the law from the hand of God so that here a conflict is excluded. The rebellion of Moses against God is found in another place. The figure in the heathen

myths corresponding to Moses brings forth water from the clouds by means of lightning. Moses is identified with the analogue of the lightning or the borer of the heathen myth: with the rod, this always recurring symbol in numerous sagas. With this rod he struck water from the rock in the wilderness—against the command of the Lord (IV Mos., Kap. 20). Moses was punished for disobedience: He was not allowed to enter the promised land. Moses, therefore, did not steal the water, but he struck on the rock and called it forth. According to the command of God he should have spoken to the rock; impatience rent him to strike the rock. The displacement is here extremely far reaching: It is not enough that Moses was a simple man, a servant of God—he did not even once commit a robbery, like Prometheus, but called forth the promised water in an over-hasty manner. And so Moses's guilt is displaced to a relatively insignificant sin. At the same time God's power is exalted in that he will not allow even a relatively insignificant sin to go unpunished.

Here then is opened to us an interesting perspective on the origin of certain pathological ideas. We find a quite similar process of displacement, called by Freud "transposition," in the genesis of compulsive ideas. According to Freud's investigations compulsive ideas have their root in self reproaches of the patient, which relate to forbidden sexual activity. The patient tries to compensate by over-correction in other territories for what he, according to his view, has done that was sexually sinful, as if he had, as a matter of fact, in this indifferent territory, permitted himself to be at fault.[31]

I must refer briefly to a nearly related process in the psychoses (dementia præcox, melancholia).[32] The delusions of sin of these patients can often be traced to self-reproaches of a sexual nature.

[31] I cannot, in this place, go into Freud's teachings on this point and refer to the "Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre."

[32] Abraham, "Das Erleiden sexueller Traumen," etc., 1907.

Such patients sometimes displace the feeling of guilt from some sexual reminiscence onto any insignificant fault of another kind. They are by no means to be dissuaded from these ideas. If we turn to the Freudian view of these conditions the ground for the conduct of such patients is evident. They desire to put aside the feeling of guilt.

Displacements, as shown in the story of Moses, we meet in the Old Testament in great number. We find even there many original heathen myths, which, as the race went more and more over to monotheism, were used for the service of the new religion and for this purpose had to suffer substantial displacement. That the transition to monotheism was effected only very gradually and by great struggles is testified to by all the historical books of the Old Testament. The gods or god-like beings of the old myths must come down from their high pedestal, must be satisfied with the rôle of men, and subordinate themselves to the one god. In some cases this displacement went so far, that the one-time god became as man a specially faithful follower, the chosen of the one god. The figures of the patriarchs and of Moses are products of this displacement process. For the study of the latter the saga of Samson lends itself especially well. We possess a treatise on this subject from the master hand of H. Steinthal.[33] I give here only some of its principal features because it leads to similar results as the analysis of the Prometheus saga.

Samson, as can be seen from the etymology of his name, is the sun god of the old semitic heathendom and corresponds to Hercules of the Indo-germanic saga. He is also really the sun god or -heros; the Hercules saga resembles that of Samson in a number of important things. Samson is the sun god, with long hair like Apollo. He is the warming, generating god, the blessing giving sun; in the summer he reaches the height of his power. So winter and night are naturally his adversaries; they find their

[33] Steinthal, "Die Sage von Samson," *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychol. und Sprachwiss.*, Bd. 2, 1862.

personification in the moon goddess. When in the evening the sun sets, then according to one of the ideas of the sun god held by many peoples, he flees before the pursuing moon goddess. Although he reaches his greatest strength in summer, he cannot enjoy it; for from the solstice he loses it again. He is subdued by the night and the winter goddess as a strong man is by a wife. Samson, the generating sun god, appears in the representation of the Book of Judges, weak as compared to his wife. It is very probable that Delilah is a transformation of the night and winter goddess. Samson loses his strength when he loses his hair; that is the sun god loses his rays. However, as the sun, after the expiration of winter gets back its strength, so the hair of Samson grows again, so that his strength again returns; only for a short time to be sure. For he sought death and found it at the feast that his enemies, the Philistines, celebrated in honor of their god, Dagon. Dagon, however, is the unfruitful god of the seas and the deserts, in the myth opposed to the sun god and therefore an unfriendly power.

Samson, the hero and the sun god, kills himself. That is a feature, which we also find again in the related myths. In the biblical story the suicide of Samson besides occurring at the feast of Dagon occurs still a second time, certainly in a hardly recognizable form. The sun god unites within himself two opposed tendencies. He is, on the one side, the warming, life promoting god, on the other side, the burning, unhappiness causing, consuming god. As the latter he is represented by the symbol of the lion; as a lion the sun reaches in summer its greatest strength. As Agni and Matarichvan originally were a single being, but later became forces opposed to one another, so also the consuming heat of the sun—under the symbol of the lion—comes to be split off from the blessing bringing sun god. Samson's first heroic deed, Hercules' first task, was the vanquishing of a lion. The good sun god killed the consuming god as a lion and therefore killed himself.

An exceedingly distorting displacement has produced from the sun god the hero Samson consecrated by God. Only a few, of themselves alone not understandable remains of his original being still adhere to him: the strength, which reposes in the hair, the weakness as against the woman, the end by suicide. It was because of the long hair that Samson became, in the later saga, the Nazarite, the beloved of God, who freed his people from bondage. Here is probably the identity of Samson and Hercules with the Phönecian Meleager, who was a tutelar god of his people. How the sun god of the heathen times comes to be the god-ordained hero is not cleared up in all its details; that, however, such a transformation did take place, many sources of information demonstrate. Israel had fought with the Philistines for centuries and lost her freedom through these conflicts. The old sun god, who formerly as the god of fruitfulness, and as an enemy of consuming heat, represented a wish of the race as fulfilled, must now as a national hero bring another wish to fulfillment. Like Moses he came to the service of the one God and was chosen by God to serve his people. He does not appear as a leader but always alone as the sun wanders alone in the heavens. He alone fought the Philistines with the jaw bone of an ass; even when blinded he opposes himself to thousands of Philistines and takes them with him in death.

IX

The Means of Representation of the Myth

After we have found again, in myths, the work of condensation and displacement of dreams, there remains still another aspect of the dream work in which to seek for its analogy in myths. Not all ideas are, for the dream, immediately representable; the same is true for the myth. Surely there exists a difference: the dream dramatizes, while the myth bears the form of an epic. Notwithstanding, both are obliged to have the same regard for the technical representability of their material. The dream, for example, must find a figurative representation for the abstract. With this object turns of speech will, with preference, be taken literally. In one of the dreams reported by Freud, the dreamer, for example, wishes to express that a musician with whom she was in love towered (turmhoch) above all the others. In the dream she saw him in the concert hall standing on a tower (Turme) and directing from that point. The logical relations of our speech are also not representable as such, in the dream. We have already learned how the dream represents the very important relation "just as" by means of identification, and that in myths the same procedure is traceable. Another such relation: "either—or" is expressed in various ways in the dream. One method is, for example, the arranging in a row, of the different possibilities, that is, each is figuratively represented and then, according to choice, placed beside the other. One other way I will briefly call attention to. The dreamer expresses in different dreams the different possibilities characterized by either—or. The dreams of one night serve, according to experience, the same wish-fulfillment; according to my own experience it appears to me that a series of dreams in the same night not seldom oppose

to one another the different possibilities of wish-fulfillment and so correspond with an either—or. In one case this explanation was especially clear. A woman, who a short time before her marriage, was in fear of opposition from different quarters, related to me five dreams which all occurred the same night. I was able, by virtue of an exact knowledge of her life, to establish, that in the five dreams all the different future possibilities were realized. The dreamer, in each dream concealed her betrothèd behind another person of her acquaintance who in one of the dreams was in a corresponding position. The rich utilization of infantile material was very interesting. Quite in the same way races proceed with their myths. Races also represent the same wish in different myths. We learn here one of the causes for the relationship in the contents of many myths. If a wish is especially strong it finds expression in different myths. Each single representation takes a new position in reference to it, approaches it from a different side. One need only refer to the two accounts of creation that run side by side in the Bible.

A close relationship between two elements of the dream is commonly expressed by both elements (or their symbols) being placed close together in the manifest content. We see the same thing in myths. In the Prometheus saga we find the borer always near by the disc or the wheel; in Genesis we find the serpent and the apple quite as near one another. The Prometheus saga shows us further, very beautifully, how one person can be concealed in several symbols: Prometheus is borer and lightning. An extremely interesting example of this kind we have met in the Samson saga. The suicide of the sun-god Samson is represented by Samson as sun-hero killing the sun-lion.

The greatest claim is made on the technic of presentation by the avoidance of the censor. We have already spoken of the symbolic clothing. In the saga of the descent of the fire we find symbolic presentations especially for the male organ of generation

and for the function of generation. We are reminded by it of dream symbolism. The borer, rod, or similar instrument is a common symbol in dreams as the representative of the male sexual organs. The dreams of women, in which they are stabbed by a man, are plainly wish fulfilling. In other dreams a sword, or a tree, or other plant of appropriate form, appears as a symbol of the male.

The feminine correlate is also formed in the saga. It is the sun's disc or its rim, or the cloud in the hollow of which moves Pramantha, or the thunder-bolt stirred up by the lightning; it is also obviously the cave in which Agni has hidden.

Fire appears in three forms in the Prometheus saga: as heavenly fire, as earthly fire, and as the fire of life. In the dream fire very often signifies the sexual fire, love. As Prometheus is the generating god so probably the love fire may come to be considered as a fourth component.

X

Wish-Fulfillment in the Prometheus Saga

After having convinced ourselves that the dream censor and the dream work find their complete analogy in myths, let us turn back to the question of wish-fulfilling in the Prometheus saga. It is of importance to discover what is hidden behind the symbolic clothing. It will appear that on this track of our inquiry we can not do without the direction of Freud's procedure in the interpretation of dreams.

The Greeks themselves made an experiment in this direction. The content of the saga had become for them unintelligible; the name of the hero easily permitted a little variation so that one could understand something by it. So Pramantha became "Forethought." Such a semi-divine figure one could—if the expression be permissible—use very well. Its existence sets forth an actual wish of mankind through all time: a wish for a care-taking being. In the explanation of the name "Forethought" there lies, without doubt, the expression of a wish. We know, however, that this meaning of the myth is secondary, and that the symbolism of the Prometheus saga does not at all fit it. We are reminded of quite analogous relations in dream psychology. Not seldom, quite on the surface of a dream, a wish is distinguishable at first glance. The dreamer, in such cases, is ready to acknowledge this wish as a fact. It is always a wholly unsophisticated wish! One asks himself then, what object, in such a case, the dream work accomplishes, when the wish, for the veiling of which the dream work should serve, lies open as day. If we now apply an exact analysis to the dream, it will be noted, that behind the actual wish a repressed wish is hidden, which shows an analogy with it. The actual wish constructs, in a manner, the

outer layer of the dream; under this lies a repressed wish. With this, however, the work of interpretation is not concluded. In many cases there is certainly a third layer. This deepest layer in the dream (as in the psychoses) is always constructed from the reminiscences of infantile wishes.

Such a stratification one can establish in the Prometheus saga. We know from Kuhn's investigations that the oldest layer of the myth represents an identification of man with fire, the origin of man with the origin of fire. The second layer corresponds to a later view into which entered personal gods. In this layer of the myth the fire-god is at the same time man-god, by whom the man is begotten. In the third, the latest layer Pramantha is no longer the procreator but the creator of man and his "forethought."

The wish phantasy contained in the last layer, which is quite clear, we have already considered. After the analogy of dreams we may expect that the two older layers also embody a wish. The wish of the second layer we know already. Man derives his origin from a divine being and consequently is himself divine. He identifies himself with Pramantha. We can show that a similar tendency expresses itself therein as in the childhood phantasies of the individual, which we derived from the existence of a grandiose complex. To be more precise, the wish of the second layer would be: We would like to originate from a divine being and be ourselves divine; each of us is a Pramantha. I show from this that this phantasy has an evident sexual component. If the sexual, in the second layer, constructs a relatively subordinate component, we however find in the deepest layer a clearly sexual content, a plain wish-fulfilling in the sexual sphere. The second layer is differentiated from the oldest by a far advanced sexual repression.

The symbolism of the deepest layer is evidently sexual; it gives expression to a grandiose complex. Man identifies his generative power with the ability of the borer to produce fire in the

wooden disc, with the effects of the borer of heaven—the lightning. The oldest form of the Prometheus saga is an apotheosis of the human power of generation.

We have taken the pains to show that the sexuality forms the most inner nucleus of the being of man. It is an old and widely diffused error that in respect to sex the child is wholly indifferent. I am not thinking here, naturally of cases of abnormally early sexual maturity. Especially through Freud's[34] researches we are forced to conclude that there is a sexual activation already in early childhood, which surely is not consciously that to the child and which must be differentiated from the sexual activity of the mature, healthy individual. The desire is awakened very early in children to exhibit themselves, with which is bound up the curiosity in reference to the sex differences and procreation. Every child—some earlier, some later—asks: Where did I come from? What the child learns in this consideration is food for his phantasy. The interest in the sexual processes produces in the growing child a fixation of attention like nothing else. An unexpectedly received explanation has not infrequently resulted in violent emotional disturbances. So the first physiological signs of sexual maturity, which the child notices itself, not rarely calls forth anxiety and aversion.

We have already repeatedly seen pathological phantasy formations grow out of infantile phantasies. We also found characteristic analogies between these pathological products and myths. The phantasies growing out of the childhood desire to show oneself and curiosity the physician meets quite commonly, if he penetrates the psychic life of neurotic and psychopathic persons by means of the psychoanalytic process. I refer, in this consideration, especially to Freud's[35] analysis of a case of paranoid psychosis. Sexual curiosity is of extraordinary significance in the realm of the psychic phenomena of compulsion; this is especially

[34] "Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie."
[35] "Vgl. Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre," Seite 124.

so for the compulsion to constantly inquire into the reasons for things. Patients with this peculiar affection must busy themselves, against their will with transcendental questions such as the origin of God and of the world or they must rack their brains over the reason for this or that thing in the world being as it is and not some other way. A case of my own observation, which I will communicate here, will illustrate what significance the infantile exhibitionistic tendency in neurotically afflicted persons has for the explanation of this condition.

The patient differentiates himself two kinds of compulsive appearances, first the compulsion to pray, second the compulsion to consider every object with the greatest care and then to speculate on its origin, restoration, composition, etc. He stated that he had been subjected to this compulsion since his childhood. Often for a shorter or longer time it remitted but always recurred. Analysis disclosed that he had, upon numerous occasions, when he was a boy, tried to expose persons with whom he had shared the bedroom or the bed. His whole interest concentrated itself on the sight of the genitals and the buttocks, on the origin of children as well as the preceding processes. On account of the violent attempts by which he sought to satisfy this practically pathological curiosity, he passionately reproached himself and began to pray to God that he would allow him to become a good man. The prayer contained the character of the compulsions; he wrote bits of paper full of litanies and read them as often as he could. He had great anxiety lest he omit a word. With the prayer developed at the same time the compulsive consideration of objects. It has come about, therefore, that the patient has set about the study of all possible indifferent objects in place of the consideration, considered as sinful, of certain bodily parts. Therefore he is especially interested in the back side of objects and the process of their origin. Through reflection on the origin of indifferent objects he seeks to provide a counter-balance

against the reflection on the origin of man. The affect of anxiety becomes, as always happens in such cases, "transposed"[36] to indifferent ideas. What every growing child in a high degree, and this boy in an abnormal degree, busies themselves with, is the same theme that in mythology is indicated by anthropogenesis.

The creation of man, the origin of a new living being, offers so many mysteries, that these processes, on that account, from the beginning on, attract the special interest of men and give a great incentive to myth formation. In an age, from which naturalistic views are still remote, procreation must appear like magic. This supposition we can give weighty support. Everywhere in mythology, in miracles, etc., the magic wand plays a great rôle. There can be no doubt (for reasons which I can not discuss in this place) that the magic wand signifies the symbolic representation of the male genitals. A quite similar symbol, the rod boring in the wooden disc, is the nucleus of the oldest form of the Prometheus saga. I have, up to this point, not yet referred to a very remarkable characteristic of the Prometheus saga: that it is a pure masculine saga. The procreating man appears in it as well in the form of a person (Pramantha) as also symbolically. The woman is only represented by the symbol of the wooden disc and in the saga is only casually mentioned. We had formerly reached the conclusion that the Prometheus saga, in its earliest form, was an apotheosis of the power of procreation. This view receives here a conclusive confirmation. The Prometheus saga, in its oldest form, had the tendency to proclaim the masculine power of procreation as a principle of all life. That is the sexual delusion of grandeur of all mankind even to the present day.

[36] "Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre," especially page 118.

XI

Analysis of the Myth of the Origin of Nectar

The saga of the origin of fire, which we now rightly indicate as a saga of procreation, is closely bound up with the saga of the origin of the nectar of the gods. We have already referred to this but have not, up to this time, entered upon an analysis of this myth. From former experiences we may expect that two sagas which stand in close relations to one another will also agree in their tendencies. For the analysis of the nectar myth Kuhn's fundamental work serves us again as a guide. In certain places we certainly will have to travel our own path.

Nectar was named amrita in the oldest Indian sources, in the later soma, in the Zendavesta haoma. The designations nectar and ambrosia are generally known from the Greek mythology. To the nectar are ascribed various wonderful, mysterious effects: it animates, it inspires, it confers immortality. The last attribute is clearly expressed in "amrita" and in the etymologically corresponding "ambrosia"; also a similar meaning is contained in "nectar."

So far as our traditions reach back all peoples manufacture intoxicating drinks, the use of which calls forth the well-known deceptive feelings. Man feels himself animated, inspired, exalted; at the same time the drink gives him an increased feeling of warmth and stirs up his sexual desires. The cult of Dionysus bears always at the same time, an erotic character. Drink thus calls forth fire in man, in a double sense: Warmth and the fire of love. Man produces intoxicating drink by crushing certain kinds of plants. These appear in the myths as soma plants. Of these plants the ash (mountain ash) especially interests us. The same tree, the wood of which served for the creation of fire.

A juice was pressed from its branches which was called soma.

Besides the earthly soma there is also, in the myth, a heavenly soma, and these two are identified with one another quite as we have seen was the case with the earthly and the heavenly fire. On earth soma and fire are gotten from the ash. As according to the Prometheus saga the heavenly fire is kindled in the world-ash (the cloud-tree) so likewise, the heavenly soma comes from the world-ash. It is called forth by boring in the wood of the world-ash (that is in the clouds). The earthly soma is descended from the heavenly soma of the heavenly ash. A bird, which nested in the branches of the ash, brought it to the earth. The analogy with the fire saga is here quite striking. As the heavenly fire embraces the heat of the sun and lightning, so also the heavenly soma is ambiguous; it is at the same time dew and rain and further still comes to be the drink of the gods. The cloud-tree is in certain myths exactly described. Its roots are in the sea; at its foot are springs which fall to the earth as rain. From the branches falls the dew.[37]

We have established that in the oldest stratum of the Prometheus saga the breaking out of the earthly and heavenly fires served only as symbolic representations of the process of procreation. We may with justice assume that the earthly and heavenly soma also serve as symbolic representations of a third element that is still quite unknown to us. Although the meaning lies near it has escaped Kuhn. We will therefore have to pass by Kuhn's analysis in order that we may supply an explanation of the third and most important, because the original, significance of the soma.

[37] Another idea, found in the Indo-germanic myths, saw in the clouds a running horse from whose mane the dew ran to the earth. From this cloud-horse the bearer of the inspiring soma, grew out, in the Greek mythology, the winged-horse Pegasus. On the other hand, from the flying clouds, the pursuing Erinnyes were formed. In the same way the saga touches of wild men in the Germanic mythology. The idea that one cloud hunts another and seeks to catch it we find again in a modern painting—Heuernte von Segantini. It is very remarkable that the phantasy of an artist, whose work embodies the idea of the unity of nature, should take the same direction as the phantasy of the race in prehistoric times.

The heavenly soma is produced by boring in the clouds—thus through a symbolic act of procreation. The conclusion seems to me to lie near, the perception in the soma of a symbolic representation of semen. Semen has a vivifying and immortalizing, because propagating effect. It fertilizes like the heavenly soma which as dew and rain falls upon the earth. We are able now to understand why the sagas of the origin of fire and of the nectar of the gods are so closely related to each other. The procreative parts of the body and the semen can not be separated from one another.

This oldest stratum of the myth, the sexual significance of which is now plain, underlies, as in the fire saga, a second stratum. It is differentiated also in this case from the first by the personification of the phenomena of nature, that is, by the appearance of man-like divine beings, by an intensive sexual repression. We meet a half divine being that bears the name of Soma. Soma is a genius of strength and procreation; our assumption of the peculiar nature of Soma receives here a full confirmation. In certain myths Agni, already known to us, appears in the place of Soma.

It is of great interest, at this point, to refer to a Greek myth in which the idea of the origin of the nectar of the gods by boring was held. It especially opens the way to an understanding of the latest stratum of the Soma saga. Zeus desired to get to Persephone, who was hidden in the cloud mountain. To this end he changed himself into a serpent and bored into the mountain. This sexual symbolism, without further details, is incomprehensible to us. From the union of Zeus and Persephone comes Dionysus, the god of wine, a personification of the nectar of the gods. Dionysus was nursed by the Hyades; these are as rain goddesses likewise a personification of the heavenly soma; as a constellation they preside over the rainy season.

Zeus of Greek mythology corresponds to Indra of the Indian. He is also the god of the clear, unclouded heavens. He also plays an important rôle in the soma saga. He becomes the soma rob-

ber. Indra brings soma out of a cave, as Matarichvan does Agni in the third stratum of the Prometheus saga, in which the Gandharvas[38] guarded him. This robbery was carried out by Indra in the form of a falcon. In many sagas the robbery of the soma is also ascribed to Agni, who likewise takes on the form of a bird. We have met Agni before as the fire-robbing bird. Now we also learn to know him as the robber of the soma and have therein a remarkable identification before us. The falcon must contend with the Gandharvas for the possession of the soma. In the struggle he loses a feather which falls to the earth and changes into a soma plant. We have already met a quite similar story in the analysis of the Prometheus saga. Like the latter, the soma saga, in its third stratum, is so distorted that in the manifest content the sexual is wholly dispensed with.

We must go still further into the significance of the soma plant and will find on the way new evidence for the identity of the soma with human semen. The branch of the soma tree, a symbolic representation of the male organ, possesses wonderful attributes. It gives them not only to the soma drink; it serves much more the most various uses and ceremonies. From the mountain ash are obtained the so-called divining rods which serve, among other things, to locate subterranean water. According to a very ancient custom the herdsmen struck their cattle in the spring with a branch of the mountain ash to increase their fruitfulness and production of milk. The branch of the soma tree turns also into a magic wand such as the staff of Hermes and the thyrsus with which Dionysus struck wine from the rock. We have already mentioned the biblical story in which Moses strikes water from the rock with his miraculous staff; the symbolic significance of this staff becomes still clearer, when we recall, that it changed into a serpent before the eyes of Pharaoh.[39]

[38] Kuhn has shown in a special work that from the Gandharvas have come a species of demon, the Centaurs of the Greek saga.

[39] The process of erection has plainly stimulated the phantasy activities to an extraordinary degree; the transformation of the staff (phallus) into a serpent signifies the return of the phallus to the quiescent condition.

Of the extremely varied functions of the ash in the myths and customs one especially is interesting to us. From the wood of the ash the pestle is made which is used in the preparation of butter. This wood protects against all kinds of witchcraft which it is believed one is especially exposed to by butter. According to present sources there can now be no doubt that the process of making butter is quite comparable to the preparation of fire by the act of generation and is set symbolically in its place, that further the product, the butter, is identified respectively with semen and also with the soma. A tale of the Mahabarata describes the origin of the soma as a process throughout analogous to the preparation of butter. I will give here Kuhn's[40] account greatly abbreviated. The gods desiring amrita (ambrosia) and the Asuras (bad demons) take the mountain Mandara as a butter stick in order to beat up the ocean with it. Indra laid the serpent Vasuki like a rope about the mountain and now the gods and Asura began to pull upon it. Out of the mouth of the pulled-upon serpent darted smoke and flame which formed into thick clouds which cast down lightning and rain upon the gods. At the same time, while the mountain was being whirled around, the trees standing together on its summit caught fire and the fire started in this way wrapped itself around the mountain like the lightning does the dark clouds. The fire Indra put out with water from the clouds, and all of the juices of the great trees and plants flowed into the sea, and out of this water mixed with the most excellent juices, which curdles into butter, the soma rises up, which in this saga is identified with the moon, after it different other mythical beings, and finally Dhanvantari comes forth holding a white jug in which the amrita is found. The gods and Asuras contend for this and the former conquer.

The oldest Indian epics contain numerous other representations of the winning of the amrita. None of them speak against the signification of the soma assumed by me. Each of the three

[40] Kuhn, "Die Herabkunft des Feuers," 1886, S. 219.

strata, which we have been able to establish in the saga, contain a wish-fulfillment, which is throughout analogous to that in the corresponding stratum of the Prometheus saga. As in that, procreation or the organ that serves that purpose, so in this the semen originally receives its apotheosis. As the result of repression of the sexual content of the saga the semen gradually becomes transformed into the nectar of the gods. It becomes the gift of a good god to man. The saga of the soma goes through the same transformation as the Prometheus saga and ends, like it, in an actual, not sexual wish-fulfillment.

XII

The Wish Theory of the Myth

I have tried, on the basis of psychological considerations, to give a theory of the origin of myths, and, through going into the analysis of examples, to lend it support. It is now time to discuss the relation of the views defended here to other mythological theories.

The oldest, and I believe the most popular theory today, assumes the myth to be the figurative expression of philosophico-religious ideas. According to generally diffused views such ideas lie, so to speak, at the foundation of the life of the human psyche. I cannot myself follow this view. As little as the child comes into the world with an altruistic ethics, quite as little is it to be assumed that man, in prehistoric times, bears within himself philosophical or religious ideas and that he symbolizes these, by way of supplement, in the myths. An uncommonly long process of repression was necessary before such an ethics came to occupy an assured position in the race and this process of repression must be repeated in miniature again today by each individual. Our analysis of the Prometheus saga has shown that the single constituent which appeared as an ethical-religious idea—the view of Prometheus as a providential being—is of a quite subordinate, secondary nature, while ideas and wishes of quite another sort are found to be the true basis of the saga. As Freud has shown for the Œdipus saga, so I believe I have established for the Prometheus saga, that it has not taken its origin from ethical, religious, or philosophical considerations, but from the sexual phantasies of mankind. I conceive the ethical-religious constituents of the myth as later impressions, as products of repression. The other sagas also, which I could not go into so completely, appear to me to speak throughout in favor of this view.

Fifty years ago, when Kuhn founded comparative mythology, the young science broke with the old views of the origin of myths. For example Delbrück[41] brought, with special precision, the revolution of opinion to expression. He declares that every myth goes back to a natural intuition. The myth is a naïve effort at the explanation of natural phenomena. One credits myths now with an evolution and compares single sagas with the sagas of similar content of other peoples.

A modern theory traces back all myths of semitic and indogermanic races to a single source: to the contemplation of the constellations. The more recent advances have shown Babylonia to be the home of astronomy and that very many myths indicate a Babylonian origin. This is the so-called astral theory. A short work by Winckler[42] is useful for purposes of orientation in this theory.

If one takes a consideration of nature as the source of all myths, if one sees in them an expression of an astronomical view, such a theory is in this respect unsatisfactory. It gives us no perception of the motive in the myth formation. It takes no account of the egocentricity of all phantasy formations of mankind. Well may astronomical considerations have had a great influence on the outer forms of myths but their significance can only be secondary. In dreams also, observation of the outer world made by the dreamer, enter as material; they appear, if one neglects a careful analysis, to constitute the essential content of the dream. He makes use of this material because he finds in it analogies to his "I"; it serves him for the symbolic veiling of his wish phantasies. The astronomical view serves the race to the same end. It projects its phantasies in the heavens. At the central point of its myths stands the race itself; it experiences in them the fulfilling of its wishes.

[41] Delbrück, "Die Entstehung des Mythus bei den indogermanischen Völkern," *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychol. u. Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. 3, 1865.

[42] Winckler, H., "Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker." In "Der alte Orient," Leipzig, 1902.

The wish theory of myths is amplified without difficulty to a wish theory of religion. The original identification of man with his god has become, in myths and in religion, indistinguishable. Through a long process of repression the monotheistic races have advanced to the position of subordinating themselves to their god as their creator. When gradually great revolutions have led to the consideration of a single god as the father of mankind—no longer in the sense of the procreative but of the caring-for father —so again there is contained therein a wish phantasy which has its roots in infancy. It is the same wish phantasy which Prometheus displayed in his love for the Greeks as "Forethought." Man wishes for a care-taking providence; he projects this wish in the heavens: there must dwell a care-taking father for all men. Quite as clearly the Madonna cult comes from a wish phantasy rooted in infancy. The caring-for mother, who is at the side of the child in all needs, the adult in the great needs of life will not dispense with. Therefore he carries over his retained childhood phantasy to the queen of heaven. A belief in the continuation of life after death is nothing but the fulfillment of a wish phantasy, whether it takes the form of another world in the Christian sense, or of a place of sensual delights in the sense of Islam.

With the help of the wish theory I have formulated an explanation of the origin and the changes of myths. It remains to add something about the disappearance of myths. That myths disappear is a sufficiently known fact which includes, for us, a new analogy with dreams. Every dream suffers regressive alterations whose tempo is sometimes quicker, sometimes slower. There takes place, however, no absolute forgetting, but the dream thoughts with their accompaniments return into the repression. So there comes a time when the race forgets its myths. Then there comes a time with each race, when it unburdens itself of traditions, when in place of the old structures of phantasy a temperate manner of thinking appears. This development was furthered as well through advancing knowledge of the laws of

nature as through the general situation of the race which satisfied its grandiose complex. In this retrogressive process the other structures of the phantasy of the race shared and not the least the symbolism of language. The sexual symbolism of language experienced hardly any more growth while the existing symbolism disappeared. The English language has "advanced" furthest in this regard—we might more properly say "receded." In it the sexual differentiations are, except for insignificant traces, obliterated. The linguistic and mythical symbolism are plainly inadequate forms of expression for the modern spirit of the race; especially is this so of the English. Practical results make wish phantasies unnecessary. A race proceeds otherwise when it is widely separated from the realization of the national grandiose complex. The example of the Jews is typical. They have preserved, through long periods of time, the wish phantasies from the childhood of the race. One thinks of the wish dream of the chosen people and of the promised land.

Modern natural science indicates by the designation "fundamental biogenetic law" the fact that the development of the individual represents a condensed repetition of the development of the species. In long periods of time phylogenesis has brought about gradually, in this way, many bodily alterations. The individual in its development must go through all such stages of evolution. Also in the psychic field things are brought about in individuals which phylogenetic development repeats. We have learned to know many phenomena in the mental life of the race and in that of the individual which are quite comparable to each other. The most important parallel for us, however, is this: The race, in prehistoric times, makes its wishes into structures of phantasy, which as myths reach over into the historical ages. In the same way the individual in his "prehistoric period" makes structures of phantasy out of his wishes which persist as dreams in the "historical" period. So is the myth a retained fragment from the infantile psychic life of the race and the dream is the myth of the individual.

XIII

The Determining Forces in the Psychic Life of the Individual and the Race

The analytic investigations, the principles of which are contained in the works of Freud, extend to phenomena of the normal and of the abnormal psychic life, of individual and race psychology. He has succeeded in proving, in all these territories, that every psychic phenomenon is determined by definite causes. The belief in inspiration no longer needs to be refuted. The defense must be turned in another direction. It is a widely spread, yes even scientifically maintained view, that in the province of the psychic chance governs. One refuses to acknowledge, for all of the thousand occurrences of daily life, for the passing fancies, the mistakes, forgettings, etc., for the content of dreams, for the individual expressions of mental disorder, a determination by special psychic factors. One persists in the old, dualistic standpoint. One assigns to psychic events a special position, removing them from the category of things determined by natural law. The view which ascribes psychological results to chance, is in so far throughout sterile, that it never can be reckoned on in the individual phenomena of the psychic life. Here come Freud's teachings. They look upon every psychic phenomenon as an effect and seek for its specific psychological cause. The determining forces in the psychic life are the object of its trend of investigation.

The child brings the fundamentals, as first determiners for his later psychological conduct, with him into the world. That side of this foundation which is of most importance for the explanation of all structures of phantasy, is the psycho-sexual constitution. This expresses itself unsophistically in childhood until the process of repression begins. While the child is preparing to

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transfer its inclination on to special living and lifeless objects and to draw it away from others, the influence of education, of the milieu, etc., impresses itself on it and constrains it to repress a portion of its natural feelings, and especially the sexual. Next, the inborn tendencies exercise a powerful determining influence on the repressed sexual infantilism. Infantile psychic material we meet anew in all the structures of phantasy. Reminiscences of later life are added as a third determinant. This also is met in great part in repression. Reminiscences, which are withdrawn from spontaneous recollection, are considered mostly as not existing. Freud is the first one to have recognized the significance of repression and the determining effects of the repressed psychic material, and to have given it its full value in all its relations.

There are no accidents in the realm of the psychic. What outwardly appears as the result of accident has its deepest origin in the congenital equipment and the infantile sexual repression. The events after childhood are like tributaries which empty into this main stream. When we ascribe to the sexuality, among the determining forces, such a comprehensive significance, that in no way implies an overestimation of the sexual. Everywhere in organic life we find self-preservation subordinated to the higher principle of the preservation of the species. The impulse which serves species preservation must be the stronger; otherwise the race would perish.

The analytic researches, in the sense of Freud, are in bad odor today with the critics. They share this fate with a branch of language research—etymology. It was once said of this, that what characterized it was that vowels played no rôle in it and the consonants an insignificant rôle. An interpretation of words resting on scientific fundamentals has, however, carried the day; it bears rightly the name of a science of the "essential," that is of the true essence of the elements of speech. The Freudian teaching is an etymology of psychic phenomena. It also will finally establish itself, although it may be at the cost of many conflicts with prudery and the prejudices of modern science.

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The Journal

OF

Nervous and Mental Disease

AN AMERICAN MONTHLY JOURNAL OF NEUROLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY

Established 1874

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF

The American Neurological Association
The New York Neurological Society
Boston Society of Psychiatry and Neurology
The Philadelphia Neurological Society, and
The Chicago Neurological Society, Etc.

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64 West 56th Street, New York City

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Printed by The New Era Printing Company, Lancaster, Pa.

ISSUED MONTHLY—50 Cents Per Copy $5.00 PER YEAR

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